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FIG. 1—*Moissac: View of the Cloister (southeast)*

THE ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE OF MOISSAC

PART I (I)

By MEYER SCHAPIRO

INTRODUCTION¹

THE study here undertaken consists of three parts. In the first is described the style of the sculptures; in the second the iconography is analyzed and its details compared with other examples of the same themes; in the third I have investigated the history of the style and tried to throw further light on its origins and development. The study of the ornament, because of its variety, has attained such length that it will be published as a separate work.

A catalogue of the sculptures and a description of each face of every capital in the cloister is desirable but cannot be given here. Such a description would almost double the length of this work. A plan of the cloister with an index to the subjects of the capitals has been substituted (p. 250, Fig. 2). This, with the photographs reproduced, provides a fair though not complete knowledge of the contents of the cloister. For a more detailed description the reader is referred to the books of Rupin and Lagrèze-Fossat, which lack, however, adequate illustration and a systematic discussion of style or iconography.

In the present work, the postures, gestures, costumes, expressions, space, perspective, and grouping of the figures have been described, not to show the inferiority or incompetence of the sculptors in the process of exact imitation, but to demonstrate that their departures from nature or our scientific impressionistic view have a common character which is intimately bound up with the harmonious formal structure of the works. I have tried to show also how with certain changes in the relation to nature apparent in the later works, the artistic character is modified.

In the description of purely formal relations I do not pretend to find in them the exact nature of the beauty of the work or its cause, but I have tried to illustrate by them my sense of the character of the whole and the relevance of the parts to it. These relations appear in apparently simple capitals in vaster number than is suggested by analysis. To carry analysis further would involve a wearisome restatement and numerous complications of expression not favorable to simple exposition. The few instances given suffice, I think, to illustrate a pervasive character evident at once to sympathetic perception. The particular problem in description was to show a necessary connection between the treatments of various elements employed by the sculptors—to show that the use of line corresponds to the handling of relief, or that the seemingly confused or arbitrary space is a correlate of the design, and that both of these are equally characteristic features of the inherent style.

1. The division of my study of *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac* which appears in this number of *The Art Bulletin* consists of the first half of the description of the style of the sculptures. The second half will be published in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XIII, No. 4.

This work is a doctor's dissertation accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University in May, 1929. I have made many changes in the text since that time, but with only slight alteration of the conclusions. The second part, on iconography, has been considerably

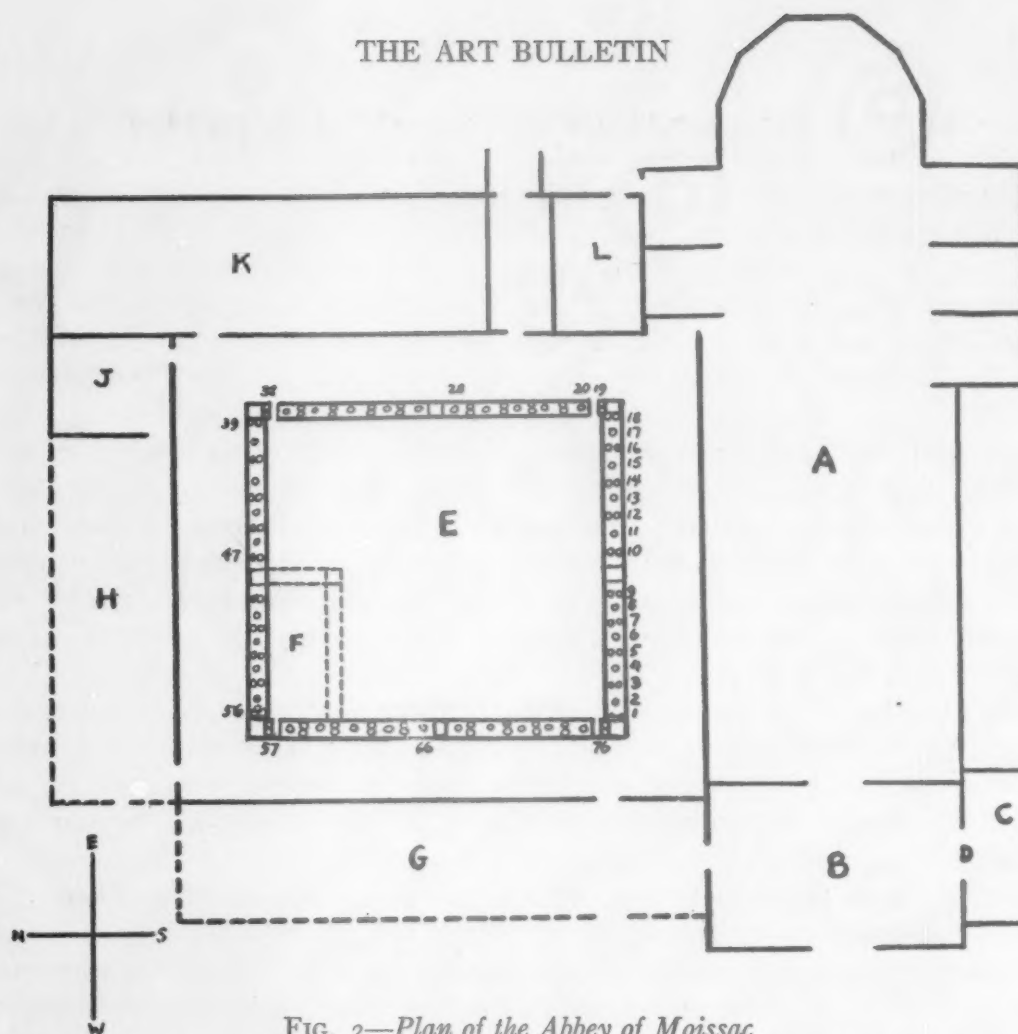


FIG. 2—Plan of the Abbey of Moissac

A, Gothic church of the 15th century with remains of Romanesque nave walls (c. 1115-1130); B, narthex (c. 1115); C, porch (c. 1115-1130); D, tympanum (before 1115); E, cloister (completed in 1100); F, lavatorium (destroyed); G, chapel and dormitory (destroyed); H, refectory (destroyed); J, kitchen; K, Gothic chapter-house; L, sacristy.

Subjects of the capitals and pier sculptures:

S. W. pier: Bartholomew, Matthew (Figs. 9, 10, 17, 18).

South gallery: 1, Martyrdom of John the Baptist (Fig. 21); 2, birds in trees; 3, Babylonia Magna; 4, birds; 5, Nebuchadnezzar as a beast (Figs. 22, 23); 6, Martyrdom of Stephen (Figs. 24, 25); 7, foliage; 8, David and his musicians (Fig. 26); 9, Jerusalem Sancta; unsculptured pier; 10, Chaining of the devil, Og and Magog (Figs. 27, 28); 11, symbols of the evangelists (Figs. 29, 30); 12, Miracles of Christ; the Centurion of Caphernaum and the Canaanite woman (Figs. 31, 33); 13, the Good Samaritan (Fig. 34); 14, Temptation of Christ (Figs. 32, 35); 15, Vision of John the Evangelist (Figs. 36-38); 16, Transfiguration (Figs. 39, 40); 17, Deliverance of Peter (Figs. 41, 42); 18, Baptism (Fig. 43).

S. E. pier: Paul, Peter (Figs. 5, 6, 15, 16).

East gallery: 19, Samson and the lion, Samson with the jaw bone (Fig. 44); 20, Martyrdom of Peter and Paul (Figs. 45, 46); 21, foliage; 22, Adam and Eve; Temptation, Expulsion, Labors (Figs. 47-49); 23, foliage; 24, Martyrdom of Lawrence (Figs. 50, 51); 25, Washing of Feet (Figs. 52, 53); 26, foliage; 27, Lazarus and Dives (Figs. 54, 55); 28, dragons; pier: Abbot Durand (1047-

1072) (Figs. 4, 20); 29, dragons and figures; 30, Wedding at Cana (Figs. 56, 57); 31, foliage; 32, Adoration of the Magi (Figs. 58, 59), Massacre of the Innocents (Figs. 59, 60); 33, foliage; 34, foliage; 35, Martyrdom of Saturninus (Figs. 61-63); 36, foliage; 37, Martyrdom of Fructuosus, Eulogius, and Augurius (Figs. 64-67); 38, Annunciation and Visitation (Figs. 68, 69).

N. E. pier: James, John (Figs. 7, 8, 19).

North gallery: 39, Michael Slaying the Dragon (Fig. 70); 40, birds; 41, foliage; 42, Miracle of Benedict (Figs. 71, 72); 43, birds; 44, Miracle of Peter (Fig. 73); 45, foliage; 46, angels (Fig. 74); 47, Calling of the Apostles (Figs. 75-77); 48, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Habbakuk (Figs. 78, 79); 49, Crusaders before Jerusalem (Figs. 80, 81); 50, foliage; 51, four evangelists with symbolic beast heads; 52, birds; 53, Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace (Fig. 82); 54, Martin and the Beggar, Miracle of Martin (Fig. 83); 55, foliage; 56, Christ and the Samaritan Woman.

N. W. pier: Andrew, Philip (Figs. 11, 12).

West gallery: 57, Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 84); 58, angels with the cross (Fig. 85); 59, foliage; 60, birds; 61, Daniel in the Lions' Den (Fig. 87), Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 86); 62, foliage; 63, grotesque bowmen; 64, Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 88); 65, foliage; 66, dragons and figures; pier: inscription of 1100 (Fig. 3), Simon (Figs. 13, 14); 67, Anointing of David (Fig. 89); 68, foliage; 69, birds and beasts; 70, foliage; 71, Beatitudes (Fig. 90); 72, lions and figures; 73, Cain and Abel (Fig. 91); 74, foliage; 75, Ascension of Alexander; 76, David and Goliath.

I find the essence of the style in the archaic representation of forms, designed in restless, but well-coördinated opposition, with a pronounced tendency towards realism. Archaic representation implies an unplastic relief of parallel planes, concentric surfaces and movements parallel to the background, the limitation of horizontal planes, the vertical projection of spatial themes, the schematic reduction of natural shapes, their generalized aspect, and the ornamental abstraction or arithmetical grouping of repeated elements. In the dominant restlessness are implied unstable postures, energetic movements, diagonal and zigzag lines, and the complication of surfaces by overlapping and contrasted forms, which sometimes compromise the order and clarity inherent in the archaic method. In the movement of arbitrarily abstracted intricate lines, the style is allied with Northern art of the early Middle Ages; in its later search for intricate rhythmical balance and coördinated asymmetries within larger symmetrical themes it is nearer to the early baroque of Italy. The realistic tendency, evident in the marked changes in representation in the short interval of thirty years between the cloister and the porch, appears at any moment in the detailed rendering of the draperies, the parts of the body, and accessory objects, and in the variety sought in repeated figures.

The earliest sculptures are flatter and more uniform in their surfaces. They are often symmetrical, attached to the wall, and bound up in their design with the architectural frame or surface. Their forms are stylized and their parts more distinct.

In the later works the figures are more plastic and include varied planes. Independent of architecture and bound together in less rigorously symmetrical schemes, they stand before the wall in a limited but greater space. The whole is more intricate and involved and more intensely expressive.

These contrasts are not absolute but relative to the character of the earliest works. Compared to a Gothic or more recent style, the second Romanesque art of Moissac might be described in terms nearer to the first. In the same sense, the first already possesses the characters of the second, but in a lesser degree and in a somewhat different relation to the whole.

Throughout this work I am employing the term "archaic," not simply with the literal sense of ancient, primitive, or historically initial and antecedent, but as a designation of a formal character in early arts, which has been well described by Emanuel Löwy.² In his study of early Greek art he observed a generalized rendering of parts, their itemized combination, the parallelism of relief planes, the subordination of modeling to descriptive

expanded by the detailed discussion of each theme. In the original dissertation, the iconography of the cloister was briefly summarized.

I have profited by the generosity of Professor Porter, who opened his great collection of photographs to me, and by the criticism of Professor Morey. I have been aided also by the facilities and courtesy of the Frick Reference Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the Avery and Fine Arts Libraries of Columbia University.

I owe an especial debt to the late Monsieur Jules Momméja of Moissac, who taught me much concerning the traditions of the region, and to the late Monsieur Dugué, the keeper of the cloister of Moissac, who in his very old age and infirmity took the trouble to instruct me. He permitted me to reproduce the unpublished plans of the excavations of the church, made in 1902.

The photographs of Moissac reproduced in this study are with a few exceptions the work of Professor Richard Hamann and his students of the Kunsthistorisches Institut of the University of Marburg. I thank Professor Hamann for his kindness in allowing me to reproduce them, and for other courtesies to me during the writing of this work. I recommend his wonderful collection to all students of mediaeval art.

I must thank, finally, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which supported my graduate studies at Columbia University, and enabled me by its grant of a fellowship in 1926-1927 to travel for sixteen months in Europe and the Near East.

2. Emanuel Löwy, *The Rendering of Nature in Greek Art*. English translation, London, Duckworth, 1907.

contours, etc., which he identified in other primitive arts, and explained as the characters of memory imagery. Although the psychological explanation is not satisfactory and the definition of the characters overlooks their aesthetic implications, the description is excellent and of great value for the interpretation of mediaeval as well as classic art.

This conception of an archaic style must be qualified and extended in several ways. The archaic characters may be purely conventional formulae (repeating a traditional archaic style), without an immediate origin in the peculiarities of memory or a conceptual reconstruction of a visual whole. In a similar way, they may be aesthetically or morally valued aspects of an early style, consciously imitated by a later artist. In such archaistic works the retrospective character is betrayed by the unconscious and inconsistent participation of the later (often impressionistic) style within the simpler forms.

We must observe also the perpetual recurrence, not *survival*, of archaism whenever the untrained or culturally provincial reproduce nature or complex arts or fashion their own symbols; and, on a higher level, when a complex art acquires a new element of representation, like perspective, *chiaroscuro*, or foreshortening. Thus the earliest formulated examples of parallel perspective in Italian art have the rigidity, simplicity, symmetry, and explicit ornamental articulation of archaic frontal statues, in contrast to the unarchaic complexity of the figures enclosed in this space. In the same sense, in the earliest use of strong *chiaroscuro* there is a schematic structure of illumination, a distinct division of light from shadow, in a primitive cosmogonic manner. The archaic nature of the early examples of these elements in highly developed arts is evidenced by the unconscious reversion to their form in still later provincial and amateur copies of the more recent unarchaic developed forms of perspective and *chiaroscuro*. The popular ex-votos of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often show a perspective and *chiaroscuro* with the stylistic marks of more skillful earlier art.

Archaic characters are not historical in a necessarily chronological sense, except where there is a strictly unilinear development toward more natural forms. The archaic work is conditioned not only by the process of reconstructing part by part the whole of a natural object in imagination, but also by a preëxisting artistic representation of it, with fixed characters that are more or less archaic and by the expressive effects required of the specific profane or religious content. The typology of early Greek art is to some degree independent of the archaic process of designing the types, some of which have been borrowed from Egyptian and Near Eastern arts, and have probably influenced the formal result. In the same way the archaic mediaeval sculptures begin with a repertoire of types and iconographic groups of complicated character and also with a preëxistent ornament of extreme complexity. These were the forms which had to be reconstructed for plastic representation; the product, though archaic, was necessarily distinct from the classic archaism. Just as the Greek predilection for simple, clearly related, isolated wholes dominated even the more realistic phases of classic art, the northern European fantasy of intricate, irregular, tense, involved movements complicated to some degree the most archaic, seemingly clear and simple, products of early mediaeval art.

SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ABBEY

The town of Moissac is situated on the Garonne river, about a mile south of its confluence with the Tarn, in the department of Tarn-et-Garonne. It lies in a strategic

position, a crossing point of many roads, some of which were called in mediaeval times "cami-Moyssagues."³ Traces of Roman habitation survive in classic columns, coins, and fragments of masonry, discovered in the town and its surrounding country.⁴ The great abbey to which Moissac owes its celebrity was not founded until the middle of the seventh century.⁵ A popular tradition has dignified the event and its own origins by ascribing the foundation to Clovis, who was impelled to this act by a dream and divine guidance.⁶ Even in the last century the gigantic figure of Christ on the tympanum was called *Reclobis* by the natives.

The monastery arose under the most auspicious circumstances, for the diocese of Cahors, to which Moissac then belonged, was ruled by Desiderius, a bishop renowned for both austere living and artistic enterprise.⁷ Towards the end of the century the wealth of the abbey was greatly increased by a donation of lands, serfs, and churches from a local nobleman, Nizezius.⁸ In the next generations, however, it was a victim of the Saracenic invasion. The church was burned and the surrounding country devastated. When rebuilt in the early ninth century with the aid of Louis the Debonnaire, the abbey was only to suffer a similar disaster at the hands of the Huns and Normans. The reconstructed church was damaged in 1030 by the fall of the roof, and in 1042 by a fire which attacked the whole town. In this period the monastery was harassed by predacious noblemen and the lack of internal discipline. Its abbot, Aymeric de Peyrac, wrote in his chronicle of Moissac (c. 1400) that it had become a "robbers' cave," when Odilo, the abbot of Cluny, passing through Moissac in 1047, effected its submission to Cluny, then the most powerful monastery in Christendom.⁹ He placed at the head of Moissac one of his own monks, Durand of Bredon (in Auvergne), under whose administration it acquired great wealth and prestige. Durand consecrated a new church in 1063¹⁰ and extended his architectural enterprise to the whole region, so that Aymeric could write that where the boar once roamed the woods now stand churches because of Durand's labors. He was not only abbot of the monastery but also bishop of Toulouse, near by, and upon his death was venerated as a saint by the monks of Moissac. Under the rule of his successor, Hunaud (1072-1085), the monastery acquired vast properties, but was continually embroiled in ecclesiastic controversies and in political struggles with the local nobility.¹¹ Anquêtîl, who followed him, could not ascend his seat without a conflict with a malicious monk. In despair, the

3. Devals, *Les voies antiques du département de Tarn-et-Garonne*, in *Bulletin Archéologique de la Soc. Archéol. de Tarn-et-Garonne*, Montauban, 1872, p. 360, n.

4. Dumège, *Antiquités de la ville de Moissac* (manuscript copy in the Hotel-de-Ville of Moissac), 1823, pp. 1 ff., 127 ff., 140 ff. See also *Bull. Archéol. de la Soc. Archéol. de Tarn-et-Garonne*, LI, 1925, pp. 140, 141, for a report of the discovery of Roman bricks of the year 76 B. C. under an old house in Moissac. The presence of Roman remains was observed by the abbot Aymeric de Peyrac in his chronicle, written c. 1400 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. latin 4991-A, f. 154 r, col. 1)—*Denique in multis locis harum parcium in agris et viis publicis apparent antiqua pavimenta que faciunt intersigna villarum antiquarum et penitus destructarum. . .*

5. A. Lagrèze-Fossat, *Études historiques sur Moissac*, Paris, Dumoulin, III, 1874, pp. 8 ff. and 495-498, and E. Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, Paris, Picard,

1897, pp. 21-25, for a *résumé* of the evidence concerning the period of foundation and the various local legends which pertain to it.

6. Rupin, *loc. cit.*

7. *La Vie de St. Didier, Evêque de Cahors* (630-655), edited by Poupardin, Paris, Picard, 1900, pp. 22 ff. This biography was written in the late eighth or early ninth century by a monk of Cahors who utilized a source contemporary with the saint. One of the manuscripts comes from Moissac (Bibl. Nat. lat. 17002).

8. Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

9. On these disasters and the submission to Cluny, see Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-50.

10. An inscription of the period, now enwalled in the choir of the church, records the event. Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52, and fig. 5.

11. Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-62.

usurper set fire to the town; and it was only after a prolonged struggle and papal intervention that Anquêtîl's place was finally assured.¹² It is to Anquêtîl that we owe the cloister and the sculptures of the tympanum, according to the chronicle of Aymeric.¹³ But these constructions of Anquêtîl were no novelty in Moissac, for works, now destroyed, were attributed to Hunaud before him;¹⁴ while Durand's architectural energies are well known. Roger (1115-1131) constructed a new church, domed like those of Souillac and Cahors, and probably added the sculptures of the porch.¹⁵

This century, immediately following the submission to Cluny, was the happiest in the history of the abbey. It controlled lands and priories as far as Roussillon, Catalonia, and Perigord.¹⁶ In the Cluniac order the abbot of Moissac was second only to the abbot of Cluny himself.¹⁷ Yet the literary and musical productions of this period are few in number. Except for a brief chronicle, a few hymns, and some mediocre verses, the writings of the monks of Moissac were simply copies of earlier works.¹⁸ No monk of the abbey achieved distinction in theology or letters. But in the manuscripts copied in Moissac in the eleventh and twelfth centuries may be found beautiful ornament and miniatures, of which some are related in style to the contemporary sculptures of Aquitaine.¹⁹

The next century was less favorable to the security of the abbey. In 1188 a fire consumed the greater part of the town, which was soon after besieged and taken by the English.²⁰ And in the subsequent Albigensian crusade the monastery was attacked by the heretics and involved in depressing ecclesiastical and political difficulties.²¹ The abbot, Bertrand de Montaigu (1260-1293), repaired some of the damaged buildings, including the cloister of Anquêtîl, which he furnished with its present brick arches, in the style of the thirteenth century.²² But in the wars that followed, the abbey was again ruined. The church itself was probably subject to great violence, since its upper walls and vaults and its entire sanctuary had to be reconstructed in the fifteenth century.²³

In 1625 the abbey was secularized and thereafter fell into neglect. The National Assembly, in 1790, suppressed it completely. The church and the cloister were placed on

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 63.

13. Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. latin 4991-A, f. 160v0., col. 1. The text is published by Rupin, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 2 and by V. Mortet, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture en France au moyen-âge. XIe-XIIe siècles*, Paris, Picard, 1911, pp. 146-148. The construction of the cloister by Anquêtîl is also indicated by an inscription of the year 1100 in the cloister. For a photograph see Fig. 3.

14. Rupin, *op. cit.*, p. 350, and Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 147. Aymeric mentions a "very subtle and beautiful figure in the shrine in the chapel of the church" made for Hunaud, and similar works in the priory of Layrac, near Agen, which belonged to Moissac.

15. Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-75. The portrait of Roger is sculptured on the exterior of the south porch (see below, Fig. 137). The evidence for the attribution of the domed church to Roger will be presented in the concluding chapter.

16. Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 ff., has listed the property of the abbey, and reproduced a map (opposite p. 181) showing the distribution of its priories and lands.

17. *Millenaire de Cluny*, Macon, 1910, II, pp. 30, 31, and Pignot, *Histoire de l'ordre de Cluny*, II, pp. 190 ff.

18. G. M. Dreves, *Hymnarius Moissiacensis. Das Hymnar der Abtei Moissac im 10. Jahrhundert nach einer Handschrift der Rossiana. Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, II, Leipzig, 1888, and C. Daux, *L'Hymnaire de l'abbaye de Moissac aux X-XI ss.*, Montauban, 1899.

The remnants of the mediaeval library of Moissac were brought to Paris in the seventeenth century by Foucault, and are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. They are mainly religious texts. For their history and content, and for ancient catalogues of the library of Moissac, see L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, I, pp. 457-459, 518-524.

19. They were called to the attention of scholars by Delisle more than forty-five years ago, but have never been published as a group. They will be reproduced in a work on the manuscript painting of Southern France, now being prepared by Mr. Charles Niver and myself.

20. Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 86 ff.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 354 ff.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

sale; and the latter, purchased by a patriotic citizen, was offered to the town, which exposed the building to the most unworthy uses. The garrison stationed there during the first empire damaged the sculptures and ruined the ancient enameled tile pavements. At one time a saltpeter factory was installed in the surrounding buildings. More recently, as a classified *monument historique*, the cloister and church have received a more intelligent protection. In the middle of the last century parts of the abbey were restored, but the sculptures were happily left untouched by the architects of the government.²⁴

Since the Middle Ages, the history and arts of the abbey have been the subjects of inquiry and comment. In the late fourteenth century its abbot, Aymeric, in writing his chronicle of Moissac, remarked the artistic enterprise of his predecessors and expressed his sense of the great beauty of the Romanesque works. The portal he called "*pulcherrium, et subtilissimi operis constructum*."²⁵ He added that the trumeau and the fountain (now destroyed) were reputed so wonderful that they were considered miraculous rather than human works.²⁶ Aymeric was one of the first of a long line of monastic archaeologists. Not content with the testimony of written documents he made inferences as to the authorship and dates of works from their artistic or physical characters. Thus he attributed the unsigned inscription of the dedication of the church of Durand (1063) to Anquêtîl, who was not abbot until almost thirty years after, because of the paleographical resemblances to the inscription of 1100, placed by Anquêtîl in the cloister.²⁷ On a visit to the priory of Cénac in Périgord, he was struck by the similarity of its sculptures to those at home in Moissac.²⁸ He explained them as due to the same patron, Anquêtîl, and invoked the form of the church as well as written documents in evidence of the common authorship. At other times he was fantastic in his explanations, and caused confusion because of his credulity and whimsical statements.

What travelers and artists of the Renaissance thought of these sculptures we do not know.²⁹ In the seventeenth century scholars, mainly of the Benedictine order, collected the documents pertaining to the mediaeval history of the abbey.³⁰ De Foulhiac, a very learned canon of the cathedral of Cahors, copied numerous charters of Moissac and wrote much concerning the antiquities of Quercy, the region to which Moissac belonged.³¹ His still unpublished manuscripts are preserved in the library of Cahors. The monks of St.-Maur, Martène and Durand, who searched all France for documents to form a new edition of the *Gallia Christiana*, and in their *Voyage Littéraire* (1714) described many mediaeval

24. Except for the angel of the Annunciation on the south porch and several modillions. On the fortunes of the abbey building in the nineteenth century, see Lagrèze-Fossat, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 266-268.

25. Rupin, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 2, and Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 148.

26. *Ibid.*

27. He writes, "*Credo quod ipse (Asquelinus) fecerit scribi etiam in lapide et de eisdem litteris consecrationis monasterii facte de tempore domini Durandi abbatis*." See Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

28. Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, 147.

29. Léon Godefroy, a canon of the church of St. Martin in Montpézat (Tarn-et-Garonne), visited Moissac about 1645. He observed numerous relics in the treasure, in-

cluding the body of St. Cyprian. Mosaics covered the entire floor of the church. He paid little attention to the portal and said of the cloister that it was "*fort beau ayant de larges galeries et le préau environné d'un rebord . . . colonnes d'un marbre bastard . . . et des statues qui représentent les Apostres. Si ces pièces sont mal faites il faut pardonner à la grossièreté du temps qui ne possédoit pas l'art de la sculpture au point qu'on fait à présent*." He observed also a fountain in one corner of the cloister. See Louis Batcave, *Voyages de Léon Godefroy en Gascogne, Bigorre et Béarn* (1644-1646), in *Études Historiques et Religieuses du diocèse de Bayonne*, Pau, VIII, 1899, pp. 28, 29, 73, 74.

30. *Gallia Christiana*, 1st ed., 1656, IV, pp. 678-680; 2nd ed., 1715, I, pp. 157-172.

31. Rupin, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

buildings of Aquitaine, did not visit Moissac. The library of the abbey had been brought to Paris about fifty years before.³² In the later eighteenth century an actor, Beaumenil, on an archaeological mission, made drawings of classical antiquities in Moissac, but paid little attention to the Romanesque works.³³ Dumège, a pioneer in the study of the ancient arts of Southern France, wrote a description of the abbey and recounted its history in 1823, in an unpublished manuscript of which copies are preserved in Moissac and Montauban.³⁴ It was not until the second quarter of the last century, during the romantic movement in literature and painting, that the sculptures of Moissac acquired some celebrity. In his voluminous *Voyages Romantiques*, published in 1834, Baron Taylor devoted a whole chapter to the abbey, describing its sculptures with a new interest.³⁵ He drew plans of the cloister and the whole monastic complex and reproduced several details of its architecture. Another learned traveler, Jules Marion, gave more precise ideas of the history of the abbey in an account of a journey in the south of France published in 1849 and 1852.³⁶ He was the first to utilize the chronicle of Aymeric. In the *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture*, published shortly afterward by Viollet-le-Duc, who had been engaged in the official restorations of the abbey church and cloister, numerous references were made to their construction and decoration.³⁷ In 1870, 1871, and 1874, a native of Moissac, Lagrèze-Fossat, published a very detailed account of the history and arts of the abbey in three volumes.³⁸ It was unillustrated, and in its iconographic and archaeological discussion, suffered from unfamiliarity with other Romanesque works. Other archaeologists of the region—Mignot, Pottier, Dugué, Mommeja,³⁹ etc.—brought to light occasional details which they reported in the journals of departmental societies. In 1897 appeared Rupin's monograph, which offered the first illustrated comprehensive view of the history, documents, and art of the abbey, but was limited by the use of drawings and by the lack of a sound comparative method and analysis of style.⁴⁰ In 1901 the Congrès Archéologique of France met in Agen, near Moissac, and devoted some time to the investigation of the architecture of the abbey church.⁴¹ In the following year excavations were made in the nave of the church to

32. Delisle, *op. cit.*

33. F. Pottier, in *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 1888, p. 67.

34. *Antiquités de la Ville de Moissac*, 1823. The copy in Moissac is kept in the archives of the Hôtel-de-Ville.

35. Nodier, Taylor, and de Cailleux, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, Languedoc I, partie 2, Paris, 1834.

36. Jules Marion, *L'abbaye de Moissac*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 3e série, I, 1849, pp. 89-147, and in the same journal, *Notes d'un voyage archéologique dans le sud-ouest de la France*, 1852, pp. 58-120.

37. Paris, 1854-1869, III, pp. 283-285; VII, pp. 289-293, etc.

38. *Études Historiques sur Moissac*, Paris, Dumoulin, 3 volumes, 1870, 1872, 1874. The archaeological study is in the third volume.

39. J. Mignot, *Recherches sur la chapelle de St. Julien*, in *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. de Tarn-et-Garonne*, IX, 1881, pp. 81-100; and *Recherches sur les constructions carlovingiennes à Moissac*, in *ibid*, XI, 1883, pp. 97-105. Henry Calhiat, *Le tombeau de Saint Raymond à Moissac*, in *ibid*, I, 1869, pp. 113-117. Chadruc de Crazannes, *Lettre sur une inscription commemorative de la dedicace de l'église des*

Benédicte de Moissac, in *Bulletin Monumental*, VIII, 1852, pp. 17-31, and *Lettre sur une inscription du cloître de Moissac*, in *ibid*, IX, 1853, pp. 390-397. Francis Pottier, *L'abbaye de St.-Pierre à Moissac*, in *Album des Monuments et de l'Art Ancien du Midi de la France*, Toulouse, Privat, 1893-1897, I, pp. 49-63. Jules Mommeja, *Mosaïques du Moyen-Age et Carrelages émaillés de l'abbaye de Moissac*, in *Bulletin Archéologique*, Paris, 1894, pp. 189-206. Viré, Chenet, and Lemozi, *Fouilles exécutées dans le sous-sol de Moissac en 1914 et 1915*, in *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. de Tarn-et-Garonne*, XLV, 1915, pp. 137-153. Addendum et rectification, in *ibid*, pp. 154-158. For the excavations of 1930, conducted by M. Viré, see the report in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1930, pp. 360, 361.

40. *L'abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, Paris, Picard, 1897. Mention is made of an illustrated work by J. M. Bouchard, *Monographie de l'église et du cloître de Saint-Pierre de Moissac*, Moissac, 1875, but it has been inaccessible to me.

41. *Congrès Archéologique de France*, Paris, Picard, 1902, pp. 303-310 (by Brutails). The congress of 1865 also visited Moissac and reported the discovery of fragments of another cloister. See Rupin, *op. cit.*, p. 200, and Lagrèze-Fossat, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 107, 108.

discover the plan of the building consecrated by Durand in 1063. Partly because of the infirmity of Monsieur Dugué, the conservator of the cloister, the excavations were never completed, and the results have remained unpublished to this day.⁴² In the past twenty-five years the sculptures of Moissac have held a prominent place in discussions of French Romanesque art, but except for the researches of Mâle,⁴³ Deschamps,⁴⁴ and Porter,⁴⁵ little has been added to the knowledge acquired in the last century.⁴⁶ Deschamps has more precisely defined the relations of the earliest sculptures of the cloister to those of Toulouse, while Porter has shown the extension of similar styles throughout Spain and France and has proposed novel theories to explain the forms at Moissac. In the celebrated work of Mâle on the art of the twelfth century, the sculptures of Moissac are the first to be described. They are for Mâle the initial and unsurpassed masterpieces of mediaeval sculpture, the very inception of the modern tradition of plastic art, and the most striking evidences of his theory of the manuscript sources of Romanesque figure carving in stone. The influence of manuscript drawings on sculptures had long been recognized; it was not until recently that this notion was more precisely expressed. In America, Professor Morey, of Princeton, had before Mâle distinguished the styles of Romanesque works, including Moissac, by manuscript traditions.⁴⁷ In Mâle's work the parallels between sculpture and illumination are more often those of iconography. Their theories will be considered in the second and third parts of this work.

THE PIER RELIEFS OF THE CLOISTER

Of the mediaeval abbey of Moissac there survive to-day the Romanesque cloister, built in 1100; a church on its south side, constructed in the fifteenth century, incorporating the lower walls of the Romanesque church; the tower and porch which preceded the latter on the west; and several conventual buildings to the north and east of the cloister (Fig. 2).⁴⁸

42. There is a brief report in the *Bulletin Archéologique*, Paris, 1903, p. li.

43. *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris, Colin, 1922, and *Les influences arabes dans l'art roman*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 15, 1923, pp. 311-343.

44. *Notes sur la sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le nord de l'Espagne*, in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1923, pp. 305-351; *L'autel roman de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse et les sculpteurs du cloître de Moissac*, in *Bulletin Archéol.*, Paris, 1923, pp. 239-250, pls. XIX-XXVII; *Les débuts de la sculpture romane en Languedoc et en Bourgogne*, in *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 5e série, XIX, 1924, pp. 163-173; *Notes sur la sculpture romane en Bourgogne*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5e période, VI, 1922, pp. 61-80.

45. *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, Marshall Jones, 1923, 10 volumes; *Spain or Toulouse? and other Questions*, in *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1924, pp. 1-25; *Leonese Romanesque and Southern France*, in *ibid.*, VIII, 1926, pp. 235-250.

46. The sculptures of Moissac have been discussed also by Wilhelm Vöge, in *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter*, Strassburg, Heitz, 1894; Albert Marignan, *Histoire de la sculpture en Languedoc du XIIe-XIIIe siècle*, Paris, Bouillon, 1902; Gabriel Fleury, *Études sur les portails imagés du XIIe siècle*, Mamers, 1904;

André Michel, in his *Histoire de l'Art*, I, 2e partie, Paris, Colin, 1905, pp. 589-629 (*La sculpture romane*); Jean Laran, *Recherches sur les proportions dans la statuaire française du XIIe siècle*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1907, pp. 436-450; 1908, pp. 331-358; 1909, pp. 75-93, 216-249; Auguste Anglès, *L'abbaye de Moissac*, Paris, Laurens, 1910; Robert de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. 640 ff.; Ernst Buschbeck, *Der Portico de la Gloria von Santiago de Compostella*, Wien, 1919, pp. 24 ff.; J. Jahn, *Kompositionsgesetze französischer Reliefplastik im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, 1922, pp. 11-16; Alfred Salmony, *Europa-Ostasien, religiöse Skulpturen*, Potsdam, Kiepenheuer, 1922; Raymond Rey, *La cathédrale de Cahors et les origines de l'architecture à coupes d'Aquitaine*, Paris, Laurens, 1925, *Les vieilles églises fortifiées du Midi de la France*, Paris, Laurens, 1925, and *Quelques survivances antiques dans la sculpture romane méridionale*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5e période, XVIII, 1928, pp. 173-191.

47. Charles Rufus Morey, *The Sources of Romanesque Sculpture*, in *Art Bulletin*, II, 1919, pp. 10-16; *Romanesque Sculpture*, Princeton, 1920; *The sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1924, pp. 35-50.

48. For the appearance of the buildings prior to the restorations, see the lithographs and engravings in Nodier,

A glance at Figs. 1 and 2 will show the reader the rectangular plan of the cloister, the disposition of its arcades and alternately single and twin colonnettes, and the brick piers with grayish marble facings at the ends and center of each arcade.⁴⁹

On the inner sides of the four corner piers, facing the galleries, are coupled the almost life-size figures⁵⁰ of Peter and Paul (southeast), James and John (northeast), Philip and Andrew (northwest), Bartholomew and Matthew (southwest) (Figs. 5-12). Simon stands on the outer side of the central pier of the west gallery, facing the garden of the cloister (Fig. 13).⁵¹ On the inner side of the same pier is the inscription that records the building of the cloister (Fig. 3); and on the corresponding side of the central pier of the east gallery, in front of the old chapter house of the abbey, is represented the abbot Durand (1047-1072) (Fig. 4). All these figures are framed by columns, and by arches inscribed with their names.

The rigidity of their postures and their impassive faces, the subdued relief of the hardly emerging figures placed on the shadowy sides of the piers, their isolation at the ends of the galleries, and their architectural frames, suggest an archaic funerary art of ceremonious types.

The figures are so slight in relief, they appear to be drawings rather than sculptures. This impression is confirmed by the forms of the figures, clearly outlined against the wall, with their features and costumes sharply delineated in simple geometric shapes. The unmodeled bodies are lost beneath the garments, which determine the design. The

Taylor, and de Cailleux, *op. cit.*, I, partie 2, 1834, pl. 65, and Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200, figs. 34, 35. In the early nineteenth century the galleries were covered by wooden barrel vaults, and several capitals and columns in the west and north galleries were then replaced or enclosed by piers of rectangular section. These must have been later substitutions which were removed in the 1840s by the French restorers of the cloister. The present columns and capitals are contemporary with the others. In only one of them (number 61) is there an exceptional form—a greater breadth of the astragal and thicker columns—which may be explained by the fact that the arch of the lavatorium sprang from this very capital. See below, n. 68.

49. Except the central pier of the south gallery which is a monolith of reddish marble. Lagrèze-Fossat, *op. cit.*, III, p. 259, has mistakenly described all the piers as monoliths. The revetment is a thin hollowed marble case with two or three unjointed sides. The fourth side is stuccoed or faced with a thin slab of marble (central western pier, Fig. 13).

50. The height of the piers, without their imposts and podia, ranges from 1.57 m. to 1.60. The angle piers are not quite square in section, and vary in breadth from .49 m. (St. John, Fig. 8) to .53 (St. Paul, Fig. 5). The central pier of the east gallery (abbot Durand, Fig. 4) is .72 m. wide on its east and west faces, and .52 m. deep. The central north pier (unsculptured) is .66 m. by .51 m., the central west, with the inscription (Fig. 3) and St. Simon (Fig. 13), is .69 m. by .52; but the relief of Simon, set in the broader side, is only .51 m. wide. The thickness of the slabs is no more than .04 to .05 m. (in those piers of which the narrow edge of a slab is exposed). On the southwest and northwest piers the slabs were too narrow to cover the sides on which are sculptured Philip and Matthew (Fig. 10); extremely slender pieces were added to complete the revet-

ment. In the relief of Philip (Fig. 12) a vertical joint runs along the right column and cuts the arch. His mantle has been designed parallel to this line, and never crosses it; and a long interval has been left between the O and L of APOSTOLUS in the inscription to avoid crossing this same joint.

51. The figure of Simon (Fig. 13) was for many years enwalled in the exterior of the south porch of the church, where it was seen by Dumège (before 1823) and the authors of the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques* (before 1834). It was restored to its present position by Viollet-le-Duc or his assistant, Olivier, during the restorations of the 1840s. It is not certain that it is now in its original place, but it undoubtedly belonged to the cloister. That all the apostles were once represented cannot be inferred from the structure of the piers. The central southern pier is intact. Of the two remaining piers with blank faces, the central northern has, on its south side, a brick filling up to the very edge of the impost. Unless this is a more recent change, it would exclude the application of a slab to its one bare surface. The same holds true of the central eastern pier (Durand), for the marble encloses the two narrow sides completely, and there is no place on the broader (west) side with exposed brick surface for a marble slab. Hence it must be concluded that only nine apostles (including Paul) were originally represented on the piers. Others were perhaps carved on the corner pier of the destroyed lavatorium or fountain enclosure (see below, n. 68), and on the supports of some adjacent monastic structure. It is possible, however, that narrower slabs (c. 51 m.), of the same dimensions as those of the corner piers, were once inserted on these broader faces (.66 m., .72 m.) of the central piers. The relief of Simon (.51 m.) is narrower than that of Durand (.72 m.).



FIG. 3—*Inscription of the Date of the Cloister (1100)* FIG. 4—*The Abbot Durand (1047-1072)*



FIG. 5—*St. Paul*

FIG. 6—*St. Peter*

Moissac, Cloister: Pier Sculptures



FIG. 7—*St. James*



FIG. 8—*St. John*



FIG. 9—*St. Bartholomew*



FIG. 10—*St. Matthew*

Moissac, Cloister: Pier Sculptures

costumes are laid out almost flat upon the wall and incised with simple lines in concentric and radial groups like seams or moldings rather than true folds. The different layers of dress lie one above the other in parallel planes. When folds reach the contour of the figure they stop short, only rarely altering the outline which was conceived before the folds.

It might be supposed from a brief inspection of the piers that the suppression of relief was due to the thinness of the slabs—for these are no more than two inches thick—and that an obvious calculation restrained the sculptor. The same hand carving the nearby capitals produced heads and bodies almost completely detached from the stone.

But the character of the relief cannot be attributed to this material cause. The slight projection of the figures was perhaps influenced by the nature of the slab; but the limited modeling, the extreme parallelism and simplicity of large surfaces are independent of it, and may even have favored the use of so thin a slab. With a thicker stone the figures might have been more salient; they would have been no more detached from the wall, and surely no more complex in surface.

In Durand (Fig. 4) the reduced relief, like the symmetry of details, is an essential element of the expressive immobility of the whole. This figure, that alone is entirely frontal, and raises the hand in blessing, is of a commemorative type, which retained for a long time an analogous flatness or incised form.

The relatively greater projection of the figures on the capitals is due to their far smaller size; for size is an absolute factor in the shapes of Romanesque figures. Small sculptures are not simply reduced replicas of large ones; in the adaptations of common types to a new scale, their proportions are modified, the thickness of folds relatively increased, and the modeling considerably altered. The architecture of the capitals, with the salient astragal, volutes, and consoles (Figs. 21 ff.), required as strong an accent of the carved forms; the apostles, however, decorated simple rectangular piers. The apparently high relief of the small figures is purely material. In the capitals by the master of the piers, it includes no greater differentiation of planes or deeper modeling.

The reduced relief and the simple surfaces are correlates of the geometrical forms and the peculiar manner of representation apparent throughout the piers. For these early sculptures, despite the long tradition of preceding arts, are archaic works, and share with the archaic sculptures of other times a specific manner of conceiving forms.

The body of an apostle is seen in full view, but the head is almost in profile, and the eye which should gaze to the side is carved as if beholding us. The feet are not firmly planted on the ground, but hang from the body, at a marked angle to each other. The thin slab does not determine this. On the capitals, where the astragal provides a ledge for feet to stand on, some figures preserve an identical suspension. The movements of the limbs are parallel to the plane of the background. The hands are relieved flat against the bodies, with the palm or the back of the hand fully expanded. The arms are distorted, never foreshortened; the bent leg is necessarily rendered in profile. The articulation of the body is subordinate to the system of parallel and concentric lines which define the costume. Only at the legs is an understructure of modeled surface intimated, and then only in the most schematic and simple fashion, by a slight rounding of the garment. The folds are rendered as if permanent attributes of the dress, as purely decorative lines, though once suggested by some bodily conformation. They are spun to and fro across the body, in regular, concentric, and parallel lines produced by a single incision, or by a double incision

which creates a slight ridge, by polygonal patterns of fixed form, and by long vertical moldings of segmental section, parallel to the legs. The folds are curved as if determined by the hollows and salient surfaces of an underlying body. This body is not rendered.

The living details are schematized in the same manner. The head is a diagram of its separate features. The flow of facial surface is extremely gentle; prominences are suppressed and transitions smoothed. Each hair is rendered separately, and bunches of hair, or locks, form regular spiral, wavy, or imbricated units that are repeated in parallel succession.⁵² The eyebrow is a precise arched line, without relief, formed by the intersection of two surfaces.

The eye itself is an arbitrary composition, a regular object of fixed parts, in simple geometric relation, none encroaching on the next. The lids are treated as two equal, separate members without junction or overlapping. They form an ellipsoid figure of which the upper arc is sometimes of larger radius than the lower, contrary to nature. In some figures (Figs. 17-20) the eyeball is a smooth unmarked surface with no indication of iris or pupil. In others (Figs. 14-16) an incised circle describes the iris. The inner corner of the eye is not observed at all.

The mouth shows an equal simplicity. The fine breaks and curves, the hollows and prominences which determine expression and distinguish individuals, are hardly remarked. A common formula is employed here. The two lips are equal and quite similar. Their parting line is straight or very slightly curved, but sharply drawn. In the beardless head of Matthew (Fig. 18) we can judge with what assurance these distortions and simplified forms were produced and how expressive so abstracted a face may be.

A difference of expression is obtained by a slight change in the line between the lips. Drawn perfectly horizontal—Bartholomew (Fig. 17), James (Fig. 19)—the impassivity of the other features is only heightened. But in Peter (Fig. 16) it is an ascending line which makes him smile, and in Paul (Fig. 15) a descending line which combines with the three schematic wrinkles of the brow, the slightly diagonal axis of the eye, and the wavy lines of the hair and beard, to express a disturbance, preoccupation, and energy that accord well with Paul's own words.

A Romanesque tradition describes Durand as given to jesting, a sin for which he was reproved by the abbot of Cluny and punished after death.⁵³ The mouth of his effigy has been so damaged that it is difficult to judge whether its present expression of malicious amusement is a portrait or an accident of time (Fig. 20). A well-marked line joins the nose and the deep corners of the mouth. The line of the mouth is itself very delicately curved, and illustrates a search for characterization within the limits of symmetry and patterned geometrical surfaces.

The few drapery forms are as schematic as the eyes and hair. The lower horizontal edge of the tunics of these figures is broken in places by a small pattern, usually pentagonal in outline, which represents the lower end of the fluting formed at the base of a vertical fold, or the pleating of a horizontal border (Figs. 5 ff.). In its actual shape it corresponds to nothing in the structure of drapery, unless we presume that a wind from below has

52. For similar treatment of hair in archaic Greek sculpture, see Lechat, *Au musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1903, fig. 5 (p. 99), fig. 7 (p. 125), fig. 33 (p. 343).

53. After his death he appeared in a dream to a monk

of Cluny, with his mouth swollen with saliva, and unable to speak. Six monks had to maintain a vigil of absolute silence in order to redeem him. See Migne, *Patr. lat.* CLIX, col. 873, 901, 913.



FIG. 11—*St. Andrew*



FIG. 12—*St. Philip*



FIG. 13—*St. Simon*

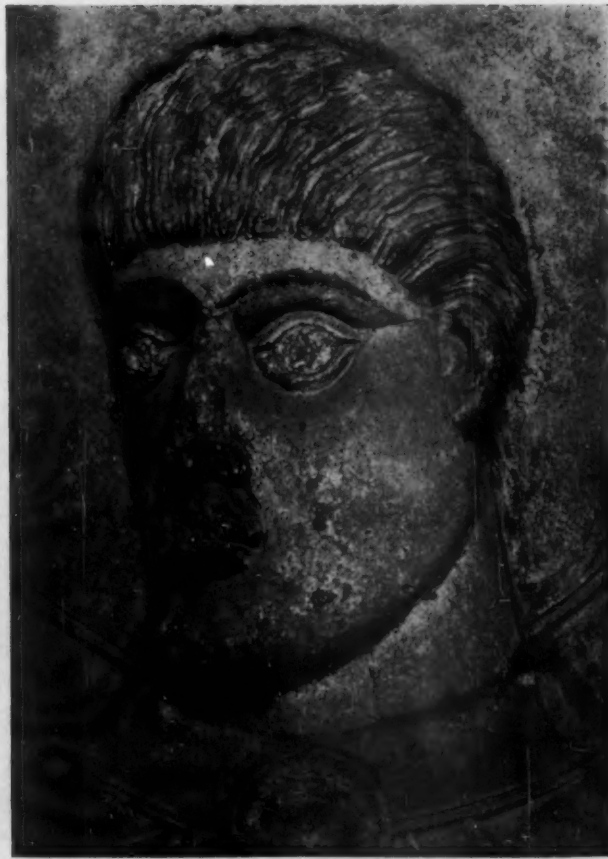


FIG. 14—*Head of St. Simon*

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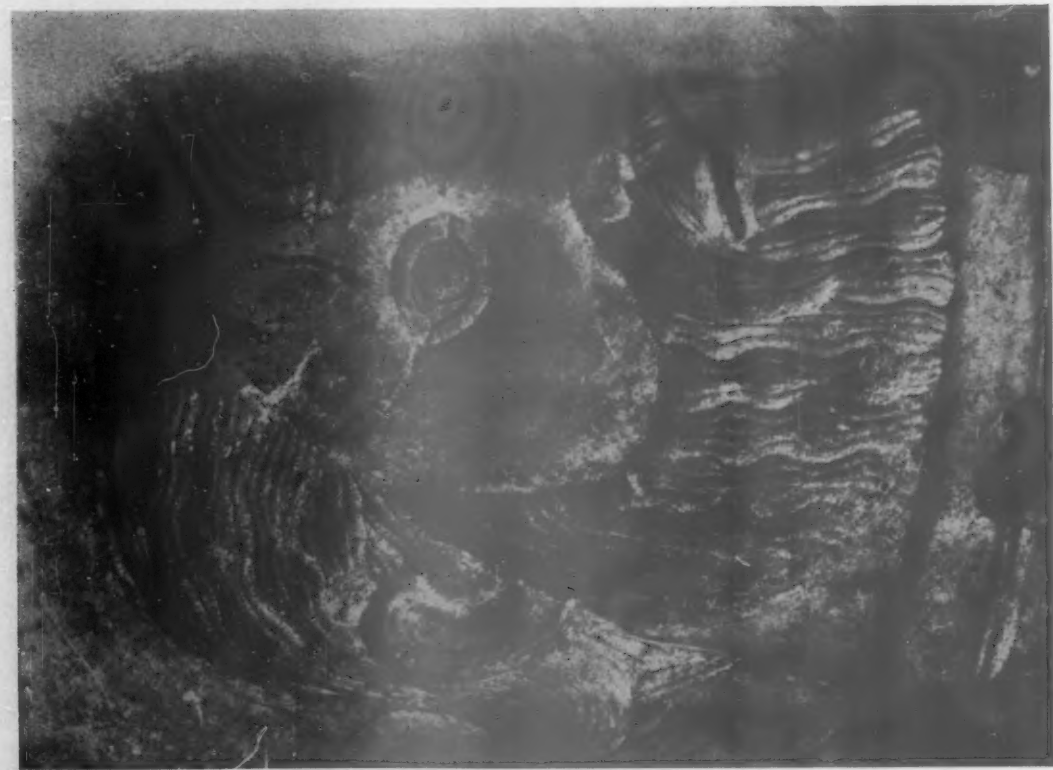


FIG. 15—Head of St. Paul



FIG. 16—Head of St. Peter
Moissac, Cloister: Details of Pier Sculptures

stirred the garment at certain points into this strangely schematic fold, and that another force has flattened it against the body. In the reliefs of James (Fig. 7), Paul (Fig. 5), and Peter (Fig. 6) it appears three times at regular intervals, like an ornament applied to the lower border of the tunic.

We are not surprised to find such forms on figures whose feet hang and whose eyes stare at us even when the face is turned in profile, and whose hands can perform only those gestures which permit us to see their whole surfaces. The elevation or vertical projection of the fold derives from the same habit of mind which gives to objects incompletely apprehended in nature an unmistakable completeness in images. The fold is freed of the accidents of bodily movement and currents which make draperies an unstable system of lines, and is designed as a rigid geometrical object. Instead of acquiring the free and sporadic appearance of nature, it is further limited, when multiplied, to two or three symmetrically grouped examples.

Similar observations may be made of hands and feet, of the structure of the whole body, and even of the ornaments of the reliefs, the rosettes of the spandrels, and the foliage of the little capitals.

We must not conclude, as some Greek archaeologists, that material difficulties have determined these peculiarities, and that every shape is a compromise of will with some refractory object and inexperience. On the contrary, the material is a fine Pyrenaic marble, and the tools were evidently adapted to perform the most delicate cutting. Only a slight examination of the surfaces will reveal with what care these figures were executed and how thoroughly the sculptor commanded his style. This is observable in two characters of the work—in the uniformity of execution of repeated elements, and in the elegance and variety of detail. The double fold appears a hundred times in these figures, and always with the same thickness and decisive regularity. The forms have been methodically produced; they are not a happy collusion of *naïveté* and a noble model.

The archaism of these works differs from that of early Greek sculptures in an important way. The pier reliefs contain clear traces of unarchaic arts: beside the schematic reductions of forms observed in nature there are more complex precipitates of older naturalistic styles. The profile head is not simply the abstracted contour of a line drawing, as in early Greek reliefs, but is slightly turned to reveal a second eye. This eye is actually foreshortened; it is smaller than the other, and intersects the background wall. It differs from a truly foreshortened eye in the regular form which has been imposed by the sculptor. On a head like Simon's (Fig. 14), which has been turned in an almost three-quarter's view, the profile of the jaw is inconsistent with the turn of the head; it illustrates the domination of a more complex material by an archaic method.⁵⁴

This presentation of the less visible portions of the profile face is to be distinguished from the rendering of the profile head completely in the round on some capitals of the cloister. There no foreshortening is implied, since with the relatively higher relief the entire head could be modeled. The inner eye does not intersect the background wall, nor is there an inconsistent relation of the two sides of the face.

54. There is a similar distortion in the drawings of the Gospels of Matilda of Tuscany, an Italian manuscript contemporary with the cloister. It is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. See *Gospels of Matilda Countess of*

Tuscany, 1055-1115, with an Introduction by Sir George Warner. Privately printed, Roxburghe Club, 1917, pl. XXIV.

Traces of an unarchaic model are present also in the posture of St. Philip (Fig. 12). Although his feet are suspended as if no ground existed for their support, and are parted in symmetrical fashion, their point of junction is off the axis of the figure. A line drawn from the sternum to the heels is diagonal and not strictly vertical, as we would expect. This irregularity is balanced by the greater extension of draperies at the right than at the left. The prototype must have been a figure seen in three-quarter's view, less rigid than the Romanesque sculpture.

A more remarkable evidence of originally spatial and plastic prototypes are the pedestals and staircases under the feet of some figures. These pedestals are trapezoidal in shape; they are really foreshortened rectangles, representations of horizontal planes, projected vertically in the course of centuries, but with the inconsistent retention of converging sides. The feet of James (Fig. 7) and of John (Fig. 8) stand on several steps at one time, as if the horizontal bands were a background of the figure and not stairs perpendicular to the wall.

The unarchaic character of the sculptor's prototypes appears also in the costumes of the figures. Whereas the effort of the artist is directed toward distinct forms, clear patterning, and a simple succession of planes, we observe in the garments a considerable overlapping and even a confusion of surfaces. On the figure of Peter (Fig. 6) the end of the mantle on the right shoulder is not attached to any other piece of clothing; we are therefore at a loss to explain it. The overlapping of drapery at his right ankle is also not clear. Similar inconsistencies occur in the costume of John (Fig. 8); his tunic is covered at the left ankle by the mantle, yet is represented behind the mantle on the background of the relief. The triangular tip of James's chasuble (Fig. 7) is lost in the tunic.⁵⁵

It is already apparent from the description of the small polygonal folds at the lower edges of the tunics that they were simplified versions, not of folds observed in nature, but of a more plastic expanded form in art. Classic sculpture had provided the prototypes in the fluttering garments of active figures; it reappeared in the stiff immobile apostles in rigid form.⁵⁶

The folds of lambent double curvature across the legs of some figures presuppose a modeling of the body to which they correspond; but this modeling does not exist in the sculptures of the cloister. The form here is vestigial. It betrays its character not only in its association with flat, barely modeled surfaces, but in its actual hardness and sharpness, its doubled line, its uniformity, its pointed termination. These are archaic modifications of an originally fluent fold, which moved across a plastic surface.

The sculptor has evidently reproduced older models of a less archaic character, and accepted their complexity of modeled and foreshortened forms as a material for schematic reduction in terms of his own linear style. The plausibility of the folds as reproductions was less important to him than their decorative coherence and clarity as single, isolated shapes. The apostles as traditional figures received a traditional dress, not subject to immediate verification except in older monuments. In the portrait of Durand, however,

55. The costume of Bartholomew (Figs. 9 and 17) is also misunderstood. Note the misplaced buckle and the false mantle on the right shoulder. With his left hand he holds up the bottom of his tunic—a common gesture in the capitals—which covers still another tunic. The diagonal of the outer tunic is obviously classical, and the gesture

of the saint appears to be a rationalization of that diagonal. The lower edges of the costume of Philip (Fig. 12) are also arbitrary and unclear.

56. Cf. the Amazon Hippolyta in the relief from Martres-Tolosanes, near Toulouse—Ésperandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, II, fig. 5, p. 37.



FIG. 17—Head of St. Bartholomew



FIG. 18—Head of St. Matthew

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FIG. 19—Head of St. James



FIG. 20.—Head of Abbot Durand
Moissac, Cloister: Details of Pier Sculptures

the contemporary costume had a symbolic value and was scrupulously drawn, to the last detail. Yet in this figure of the abbot, the faithfully rendered forms produce an effect of overlapping and ornamental involvement analogous to the misunderstood garments of the apostles. This shows that the definiteness of the details as single shapes, which governs the archaic process of representation, does not itself determine the character of the whole. We must ask whether the complication of these archaic reliefs is due merely to the reduction of models of ultimately unarchaic, illusionistic character; or whether complex elements of the latter were retained in the process of reduction—which we must suppose took place over a period of several centuries—because of the preoccupation of the reducing style with restless and ornamental involved lines. This may be stated in another way: did a peculiar method of design and expressive end favor the selection of elements of a complexity exceeding that of the common method of representation?

Before I go into the analysis of the design of the reliefs, I wish to describe two important kinds of variation within their forms—first in the distinction of individuals by varying details of costume and of feature, as well as position; second, in the development evident in the successive rendering of the same element.

The ornamental description of forms has a realistic bias. If the folds are limited to a few shapes, they are arranged in many fresh combinations, so that no two figures are identical. The study of the hair alone will reveal a conscious search for variety. In Matthew (Fig. 18) a pattern of hexagonal imbrications, each with parallel vertical lines, is employed; in Andrew (Fig. 11) and Peter (Fig. 16), tufts ending in small spirals; in Bartholomew, similar spirals (Fig. 17); in Simon, James, and Paul (Fig. 15), long, wavy striations that escape the common regularity; in Philip (Fig. 12) a band of zigzags runs between the two lower rows of imbricated tufts; and in John (Fig. 8) a row of diagonal hairs emerges from under the ribbed cap. In all these forms, however, there is a common thought. All of them avoid the common disorder of hair and abstract its uniformity of structure; they render its curly, straight, or wavy character by parallel striation of similar locks or tufts. The forms describing the different kinds of hair remain equally schematic.

A similar variety is evident in the costumes and accessories of the reliefs. John alone has a cap; Peter and Paul are sandaled, Durand and Philip wear shoes; the others are barefoot. Some figures carry closed books, Matthew and Simon open inscribed volumes, James a scroll, Andrew a cross. Even the pedestals of the figures are varied. Under John and James the horizontal bands suggest a staircase, while beneath the others has been carved a quadrangular plaque.

This diversity is not merely iconographic, except in a few details like the cross of Andrew and the inscription of Matthew's book. It is more probably a character of the style, and accords with an unmistakeable tendency toward realistic representation evident in slight anatomic changes in the figures introduced during the course of the work.

The forms of the human body and its costume are not equally accessible to the archaic method of representation. The artist who did not observe the human eye correctly and misproportioned the arms and legs and head, was very careful to represent the stitching in the shoes of St. Andrew (Fig. 11) and each separate hair of his beard. For hairs and stitching are regular, repeated, simple shapes, whereas an eye is asymmetrical, and the proportions of the limbs are unique, unmarked on the body, and not susceptible to a precise ornamental description.

It is conceivable that these larger or more complex parts of the figure should be subject in time to a canonical definition as precise and regular as the simpler elements. Such a regulation and schematic control are familiar to us from Egyptian art.

But in the cloister piers the proportions and details of the figure are not rigorously fixed; and we may perceive within the ten reliefs evidence of observation newly acquired during the work. This is hardly apparent in the modeling of the body, which is everywhere minimized. But proportions change. Bartholomew and Durand are exceedingly short; their heads are little more than one-fifth their total height. In other apostles the heads are one-sixth, and in Peter and Paul approach one-seventh the height of the figure.

The greater breadth of the relief may perhaps account for the squat proportions of Durand. He stands under a segmental arch instead of the semicircular arch of the others. Not all the figures are so compactly fitted in their frames. Philip, John, and James raise and narrow their shoulders as if to pass through a close archway.

The extreme shortness of the arms of Bartholomew, which recurs in Andrew and Peter, is corrected in Matthew and James.

It is difficult to decide whether these variations proceed from a closer attention to nature or from varying models. The rendering of the iris in Peter, Paul, and Simon might suggest a fresh observation by the sculptor, were it not that the iris appears in Toulouse⁵⁷ in earlier sculptures, less naturalistic than the works in Moissac, and is absent from later sculptures that are even more detailed and veracious in rendering the figure.⁵⁸

But in the representation of the ear, we can follow a development which parallels that of early Greek art.⁵⁹ In Peter, Matthew, Simon, and Durand, it is too small and set too high; in Bartholomew (and Simon) it is more accurately placed, but still too small; in James, however, it is so well observed that, except for the rest of the figure, it might seem by another sculptor. Shapes as well as proportion and position are developed; the details of the ear become more clearly differentiated.

The variation of the size and shape of the three polygonal folds of the lower edges of Peter's tunic (Fig. 6) reveals a similar tendency. On Andrew's garment (Fig. 11) a diagonal doubled line is incised on the corresponding border to mark the turned-up or folded edge. The ornament of beads and lozenges, common to the costume of James and Durand, is more plastic in the former. In the case of Durand the lozenges are quite flat; in James they are convex and enclose a central jewel.

That the variations described indicate a tendency in some direction is impossible to demonstrate by a study of the figures in their actual chronological succession; for it is not known in precisely what order the figures were carved; and any order inferred from the development of a single feature, like eyes, proportions, or palaeography, is contradicted by another. The greatest number of uncial characters appears in the inscription of Bartholomew, who is one of the shortest of the apostles and has been considered the most archaic.⁶⁰ Except in the relief of Simon, the capitals of the framing colonnettes are of identical form. An exceptional base molding occurs in this relief, and also in the relief of

57. As in the capitals of the south transept portal of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, dated before 1093.

58. The tympanum of the aisle portal of Saint-Sernin. The smooth unincised eye occurs also at Chartres—Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres, Portail Royal*, pl. 28.

59. Cf. W. Deonna, *Les "Apollons Archaiques"*, Geneva, 1909, p. 24, n. 2. The oblique axis of the eyes of Paul,

Simon, Andrew, and John is also a feature of archaic Greek art.

60. Note especially the forms of B, R, T, h, and O, as well as the sign of contraction, with its central handle; and the use of superposed circular dots instead of triangular notches.

Bartholomew. A more delicate observation of the sculptures might perhaps enable one to determine an order of carving; but this would be complicated by the problem of deciding how many hands were at work, and to what extent the variety is due, not to a development in time, but to different sculptors working together. The figure of Simon, I shall try to show later, was not carved by the same artist as the other apostles.⁶¹ I have been unable to distinguish other hands on the piers since the variety is so considerable in small details, and the total effect so uniform. The sculptures were probably carved within a brief period in which development could hardly be considerable. Differences of design were varieties of the same conception or method; the presence of a tendency towards more realistic art must be inferred from details rather than the whole.

It might be supposed that these details are sporadic variations from a common type without any significance for future local styles. But, nevertheless, the resemblance to a later, more naturalistic art and to the general development of subsequent art which maintains for a while the archaic conventions of the cloister permits us to assert that the style was not fixed and that the tendency of variation was toward the forms of later styles. It is conceivable that figures might grow more squat or their eyes more slanted; but the existence of five or six representations of ears which approximate in varying degree to the natural form makes it unlikely that the most natural was the first and that the cruder and deformed types were developed from it. Such a conclusion would run counter to the uniform technical skill of the reliefs; it would overlook also the association of the natural type with slightly later arts in which most of the forms show a corresponding naturalism.

There are differences in the design of the figures which are even more difficult to evaluate or arrange. It is sufficient to observe that this design already presents many of the characters of subsequent Romanesque art, although the figures themselves are so flat and so much more schematically conceived than the works of the twelfth century.

The reliefs of the corner piers were not composed as separate slabs, but as intimately related groups of two figures. The apostles on the adjoining panels of the same pier face each other, and sometimes reflect in their costumes, gestures, and linear schemes the artist's wish to accent an architectural unity. The pedestals and feet of the two apostles are identical; and on each pier some unique elements of dress or posture distinguish the two figures from those on the other piers.

The union of the figures on one pier is itself archaic in that it is achieved by the simple duplication of forms. The complexity of their design is limited by the method of representation which admits only simple shapes, isolates the parts of an object as definite entities in the whole, and converts minor variations of a surface into ornamental markings.⁶²

This design, however, is already so asymmetrical and intricate, and so nicely contrived that the primitive conventions, observed above, constitute, not the initial stages of an art, but a practiced archaism with a heritage of more realistic models from an unarchaic style. In several of the figures are visible less obvious groupings of details, unornamental combinations so arbitrarily accented that we can hardly doubt their deliberate origin. The

61. See below, p. 341.

62. I have considered above only the linear design. But these sculptures were originally painted, and their effect was partly dependent on the color which distinguished areas, accented parts, and possibly determined patterns not suggested by the carving we see to-day. Traces of

color—pinkish and greenish tints—are still visible on the apostles. But they are so faint and fragmentary that little can be inferred from them as to the original scheme of painting. They seem to have been clearer seventy years ago when the figures were described by Viollet-le-Duc (*Dictionnaire*, VIII, p. 111).

sleeves of John form a continuous curve (Fig. 8) which is repeated in the long diagonal fold below. In the figure of James beside him (Fig. 7) the intricacy of the lines makes it difficult to distinguish the imposed or premeditated elements from the rhythmical character which emerges naturally in the execution of an artistic project. The arms, fingers, collar, border of the mantle, scroll, and feet form a series of rigorously coherent, but unobtrusively related diagonal lines, asymmetrical in scheme, unequally accented, and without the appearance of an imposed design. The incised curves of the mantle folds are subordinate to them. Horizontal lines of the suspended scroll repeat the steps of the pedestal; and several vertical folds and contours are emphasized in contrast, and also as parallels to the columnar frame.

The fact of coherence or intricacy of forms is not a sufficient description of the design of these Romanesque sculptures. These qualities, like the peculiarities of representation isolated before, may be found in the arts of other times and places. The figures possess a specifically local Romanesque character which may be illustrated by analysis of several details.

Peter (Fig. 6) holds between his forefinger and the tip of his thumb two great keys which overlap slightly and then diverge. In accord with the conceptual process which governs the representation of forms in these reliefs, the two fingers are laid out flat in the same plane as the others, despite the impossibility of flexing the joints in this manner. In the same way, the circular handles of the keys are made to overlap so that each may be visible. The two keys are separated for the same reason, although the resulting relation of fingers and keys is strained and disturbing. This difficult gesture is further deformed by a painful twisting of the wrist.

Such distortion was not produced for clarity alone. On the contrary, the sculptor has enclosed these forms within a whorl of concentric and radial lines, of which the two fingers and the rings of the keys appear to constitute the vortex.

The adoption of such gestures creates a mild animation and violence in the forms of the figures. The artistic effect of a single figure is obtained not only by his main contours and the larger folds of his garment, but by numerous curved lines, plastically unmotivated, inscribed on the surface of the body. These lines are in rich contrast and radiation; some folds have a double lambent curvature, while others are in a forceful opposition to straight lines.⁶³

This restless character may be illustrated also in the design of the contours of the figures. With all the elaboration of drapery lines the contours remain simple, but are nevertheless in accord with the composition of the enclosed lines and limbs. They are asymmetrical, avoiding duplication of one side of the body by the other. They are formed by straight lines, with only occasional curves, and hardly suggest the flowing contours of the figure. The attenuation of the waist and legs and the greater breadth of the shoulders are not observed. Even though these angular and harsh outlines are rarely modified by draperies which pass across the body, they are complicated by other means—by the jutting edges of the mantle and the triangular bits of drapery which emerge from behind the figure (Figs. 6, 7, 9, 12, 13). There is produced in consequence a secondary contour,

63. If we follow the courses of the concentric folds incised in clear groups on the mantle of Peter, on his arms, and on the torso between the arms, we shall observe that

they form three distinct sets of interrupted movements, detached from each other.

which in its zigzag and irregular interval, contrasts with the neighboring architectural frame. The interruption of the lower horizontal edge of the garments by the polygonal patterned folds described before contributes to the same end.

Even in the figure of Durand, who is represented with a diagrammatic precision, as if by compass and ruler, and whose neat symmetry suggests an almost mechanical indifference to expression, the forms are not in ideal repose or clarity. The abbot is carved on the broadest of the nine reliefs, but his posture is extraordinarily strained. Enacting the same gestures, we feel ourselves cramped, enclosed, and without firm support. The artist who described with religious devotion the insignia of Durand's authority did not maintain in the smaller elements the ritual gravity inherent in the static architectural design of the whole. The details, although quite regular and schematic, break up the figure into numerous parts of contrasting axes.

At the very bottom are two vertical shoes of curved outline, bordered by a restless scalloped design, in contrast to the horizontal band of the ground. Then follows a series of overlapping surfaces, bounded by horizontal bands of unequal length. They include incised and sculptured perpendiculars, differently spaced on each surface, and so arranged that no continuity of verticals appears, but an endless interception of ornamental lines and overlapping of planes. The incised verticals (like the lower sides of the costume) tend toward the axis of the figure as they ascend; another triangle is implied in the relation of the two stolae to the small bit of the central band of the dalmatic visible below the tip of the orfrey. In contrast to the straight lines and perpendiculars of the alb, the tunic, and the stole, four triangular figures with curved hypotenuse are cut out symmetrically on the dalmatic by the descending chasuble.

The latter is dominated by a prominent vertical band enriched with jewels, forming the axis of the figure, like an everted spine. This orfrey divides the chasuble into two equal parts; their symmetry is sustained in the scrupulous correspondence of minor elements of the two sides. But these elements are so designed that the chasuble, viewed from top to bottom, rather than from left to right, involves a perpetual contrast of lines and areas. Its lower boundary is ellipsoid, and recalls the shoes; its upper edge is a more complex form, with delicate ogee lines on the shoulders, rising to the ears and then returning to the chin in an opposed curve. Folds incised on the lower part of the chasuble form two sets of tangent asymmetrical loops, radiating from the orfrey like ribs from the spine. A more powerful contrast to the lower edge of the chasuble is provided by the rigid, diagonal jeweled bands, which meet near a point from which the loops descend.⁶⁴ The areas cut out on the breast between the orfrey, the shoulders, and the collar, with their elegant contrast of curves and straight lines, are typical of the whole in their restless angularity. Within these areas are incised other curves complementary to the loops of the lower chasuble, reversing their direction, and dividing the breast and shoulder into dissimilar but beautifully related areas. The subdivision of narrow angles, the radiation of these curves from the meeting point of contrasting diagonals, the interception of other lines which proceed to the same point (like the lower edges of the sleeves), and the groups of diagonal lines at the elbows—all these confer an additional restlessness on the central portion of the figure. From this area of zigzag and diagonal movements we

64. The lozenge ornament of the enriched portions of the costume is also significant in its zigzag and unstable

units. A sculptor of more classic style would have used beads or another circular *motif*.

are brought back to a vertical-horizontal scheme by the erect arms, with simple folds perpendicular to the limbs. The surmounting hands resume the same scheme, but include the diagonal in an ingenious way. On the right hand the extended thumb parallels the sleeve and connects the architectural design of the hand with the sloping shoulder and with the diagonals and incised curves of the breast. Its direction is repeated by the other thumb, which bridges the crozier and the shoulder. This duplication is asymmetrical; but a more general symmetry is partly maintained by it. The force of the inward spiral curve of the crozier is limited by the outward turn of the thumb. The fingers are bent horizontally about the staff in contrast to the same spiral curve. Analysis of the details of the hands and the crozier will reveal a most refined balancing of asymmetrical parts by inequality of interval, opposition of directions, and minute variations of relief.

The uppermost part of the figure, which is apparently simple and quite regular, includes the contrasts, encroachments, and interruptions of forms observed in the rest of the relief. This is clear in the banding of the collar with its overlapping folds and ornament and crescent shapes; in the halo which disappears under the arch and is broken by the spiral head of the crozier; and in the contrasts of the lines and surfaces of the head of Durand, of the tonsured crown, the vertical hairs, the fillet, the arched eyebrows of double curvature, and the unusually long face, proportioned somewhat like the chasuble below.

I have tried to illustrate by this analysis of details a character of the whole. The consideration of the separate parts in temporal succession does violence to the simultaneous coherence of the object, but enables us to follow the design of the work more easily, and to perceive not only the complexity of adjustment of apparently simple parts, but their peculiarly involved and contrasted character in a work which at first sight seems a bare archaic description.

A similar character may be found in the inscriptions of the piers. In the record of the consecration of the cloister (Fig. 3) the letters are closely packed, tangent to the frame and crossed or enclosed by each other. Even in the lower lines, which have larger letters, and where the artist could have spaced more broadly, he has preferred to crowd them, and to design them tangent to the frame. Where he is able to separate letters clearly he has chosen to accentuate their angularity and sharpness by triangular notches placed between them. The reason the border is pinched inwardly at the angles and center of the lines may be found in the same character of the style. The artist could not accept two lines in clear unmodified parallelism; to animate the frame, to bring it nearer to the enclosed forms, he indented the border in anticipation of baroque frames.

The style may be further grasped by comparison of the Roman letters of the inscription with the corresponding classic forms. They are less regularly spaced, less uniformly proportioned than the latter; the verticals of letters like T, N, I, and L are not strictly parallel.⁶⁵ On the arches of the pier reliefs the sequence of letters is continually varied, and several different designs are contrived from the inscriptions. The letter S is sometimes laid on the side.

The inscription of Durand's name and titles is even more obviously designed like the draperies of the figure. The spacing of the letters is rhythmical but irregular and complicated. The two Ns of DURANNUS are crossed in an exciting zigzag, and other letters

65. The frequency of angular letters is also characteristic.

intersect in monogrammatic combinations. That the artist was aware of these effects and was not merely determined by the narrowness of the surface and the length of the inscription is evident from the great variety in the amplitude of the letters, the irregularity of spacing of forms which in their individual details are cut with an obvious decisiveness, and from such peculiarities as the horizontal line passing through the BB of ABB(A)S, as a contraction of the word. Since it signified the omission of an A it might more plausibly have been placed above the second B and the S, whereas it extends from the first A into the second B. The whole inscription is angular, constrained, involved; the very interruption of the text within a word (TOLOSANUS) at the crown of the arch distinguishes this Romanesque work from a classic inscription. Not only is an untextual element of religious character—a cross—introduced within a word, but the harmonious span of a curved line is thereby broken at its midpoint. We are reminded of the prominent keystones of baroque arches, and of the aesthetic effect of the pointed construction.⁶⁶

The design of the arcades of the galleries betrays an analogous conception (Fig. 1). The arches are not supported by a succession of uniform members, which we might expect from the uniformity of arches, but by columns alternately single and twin, and by occasional piers of prismatic form. This alternation lightens the arcade, diversifies the procession, introduces an element of recurrent contrast in what is otherwise a perfectly simple sequence, and makes of each bay an asymmetrical structure. For the arch springs on one side from a single capital and column, on the other from a twin combination; while in the adjoining bay this design is reversed. There results theoretically a larger symmetrical unit of two bays, bounded by single or twin columns; but this larger unit is not fixed and is hardly perceptible, since it is not embraced by a larger discharging arch or molding.⁶⁷

I think it is apparent from this analysis that the involvement and opposition of forms are not simply due to the survival of older complex elements in an archaic art, but that the latter is essentially devoted to such effects and produces them even in figures like the abbot Durand, whose costume and whole design are mediaeval inventions. The symmetry of this relief is as fanciful as the less regular and traditional asymmetry of the apostles. Characteristics like the clear and generalized views of head, shoulders, and limbs, which have a familiar archaic form, are also affected by the dominating expressive interest of the style. Hence, perhaps, the retention of certain unarchaic elements, like the remote eye of a profile head, and the frontal feet, suspended in a zigzag pattern.

It is also clear from the architectural context of the figures, their common material, their similarity of style, posture, frames, and ornament, that they are the product of a single enterprise and an already developed tradition. The fact that in so restricted a labor, under apparently uniform conditions of material and skill, variations of forms appear, with an unmistakable tendency toward more naturalistic and complex forms, is significant for the rapid development of Western sculpture in the first half of the twelfth century.

66. The enigmatic inscription, V. V. V. M. D. M. R. R. R. F. F. F. (Fig. 3), which has puzzled the native antiquarians for many years, illustrates the style of the sculptures in both its literary and epigraphic form. It is an asymmetrical but ornamental, alliterative, cryptic abbreviation of a religious text. The abbreviation is to be distinguished from the purely conventional type of classic and modern inscriptions.

67. The exaggerated variation in the size of the capitals—the single capitals having a greater vertical dimension—indicated by Taylor and Rupin (Rupin, *op. cit.*, Fig. 38), is accidental rather than systematic. It appears in only a few capitals. But the single columns, with a few exceptions, have a greater diameter than the twin (.165 m., .13 m.).

The variation is the more remarkable to us when we recall how stiff are the figures, how mechanical and formulated the representation of certain details.

THE CLOISTER CAPITALS

The arcades, which are reënforced at the angles and in the middle of each gallery by the piers of rectangular section, are supported by slender monolithic colonnettes of cylindrical form, alternately single and twin (Fig. 1). On the east and west sides there are twenty arched intervals, and on the others only eighteen. The pointed arches are reconstructions of the thirteenth century, but spring from stone capitals of evident Romanesque origin. These capitals are seventy-six in number, alternately single and twin like the colonnettes which sustain them. Those surmounting the corner colonnettes are engaged to the piers, and are cut in half vertically (Fig. 69). At one time two minor arcades stood in the northwest corner of the cloister as enclosures of the fountain and the lavatorium of the monks.⁶⁸ They were of the same structure as the arcades of the galleries and had a similar decoration of sculptured capitals. But the marble basin has disappeared, the arcades have been dismantled, the capitals scattered; and only the springing voussoirs of the arches which touched the gallery arcades have been left as traces of the original structure. Several colonnettes, as well as one capital and two impost blocks, are now preserved in the Belbèze collection in Moissac. They are of the same style as the capitals and imposts of the north gallery.⁶⁹

Each capital, whether single or twin, is composed of two parts, an inverted truncated pyramid and a rectangular impost block. Unlike classic art, the astragal is the base molding of the capital rather than the crown of the column. The capitals are with few

68. The existence of the lavatorium is inferred from the traces of arches above the central pier of the north gallery and the fifth capital from the northwest pier in the west gallery—both arches springing towards the garden of the cloister. Since a fountain once stood in this northwest corner of the cloister the inference seems even better justified. Lenoir, in his *Architecture Monastique*, Paris, 1856, p. 312, fig. 469, reproduced an engraving of the marble basin of the fountain, after an "old drawing" of which he unfortunately did not state the provenance. That this fountain was an elaborate, perhaps richly sculptured construction, is implied in the description by the abbot Aymeric de Peyrac (c. 1400), "*quidem lapis fontis marmoreus et lapis medius portalis [the trumeau], inter ceteros lapides harum precium, reputantur pulcherrima magnitudine et subtili artificio fuisse constructi, et cum magnis sumptibus asportati et labore*" (*Chronicle*, f. 160 vo., col. 1, Rupin, p. 66, n. 2). He attributed both works to the abbot Anquetil (1085-1115), who built the cloister. The fountain was observed in the seventeenth century by a traveler, Leon Godefroy (see note 29 above). An analogous fountain with an arcaded enclosure of the late Romanesque period exists in the cloister of San Zeno in Verona (A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, IV, pl. 234, 4).

Lagrèze-Fossat, *op. cit.*, III, p. 265, has denied the existence of such an enclosure in Moissac, especially since the traces of the arches are in the same brick as the arches of the cloister and belong to the later thirteenth century. He states that excavation has revealed no trace of the

foundations and suggests that a lavatorium enclosure was undertaken in the thirteenth century but never completed. He overlooked the exceptional breadth of the lower part of the capital of the west gallery (Annunciation to the Shepherds and Daniel between the lions, Figs. 86, 87), which received the spring of this lavatorium arch, and also the existence in Moissac of a series of capitals and colonnettes of the same material and dimensions as those of the cloister. They are now in the Belbèze estate, which is on the very grounds of the monastery. The Belbèze family occupies the old palace of the abbots of Moissac. The slight foundation required for such an arcade might have been removed with the arcades themselves, especially since the garden of the cloister was cultivated, and in the nineteenth century served as the dumping ground of a saltpeter establishment.

69. Rupin, *op. cit.*, fig. 37, reproduces, after Nodier and Taylor, a view of what has been called both the *petit* and *grand cloître*—a galleried enclosure that occupied the site of the Petit Séminaire of Moissac. Its pointed arches of simple rectangular section were carried by twin tangent colonnettes. It is difficult to judge from the old lithograph the date of this building; it is presumably a Gothic construction. Fragments of this cloister were observed by the archaeological congress which visited Moissac in 1865 (Rupin, *op. cit.*, p. 200, Lagrèze-Fossat, *op. cit.*, III, p. 107). They consisted of the remains of a single bay, of which the capitals were unsculptured and the two marble columns were engaged to a pier.



FIG. 21—*Feast of Herod; Martyrdom of John the Baptist (1)*]



FIG. 22—*Daniel Interpreting the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (5)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of South Gallery



FIG. 23—*Nebuchadnezzar* (5).

Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of South Gallery



FIG. 24—*Arrest of Stephen* (6).

exceptions circular in plan at the astragal, rectangular above at the impost. The transition from one form to the other is effected by an almost insensible flattening of the conical surface until the block assumes the section of a pyramid. (On several capitals the lower section is square or hexagonal, but the astragal remains circular.) By the salient relief of figures projecting from the ideal geometrical surface and by the structure of volutes and consoles, the change in section becomes imperceptible and the shape of the whole capital eludes a simple definition.

The dimensions of the capitals vary according to their single or twin character; but in each class of capital they are practically uniform. Exceptional dimensions appear in the twin capitals of the west gallery (Fig. 86) which received also the arches of the destroyed lavatorium. Their broader bases are at once intelligible.⁷⁰

In the design of the capitals it is difficult to discover an exact system of proportions, since the initial blocks of the sculptor, probably quarried or rough hewn in uniform dimensions, were trimmed unequally in the process of sculpture, and the original proportions altered. But several larger approximate relations may be inferred from the measurements of the entire group, despite the occasional deviations. On the twin capitals the height of the drum is equal to the combined diameters of the two astragals (.30 to .32 plus); the upper breadth of the impost on its longer side is twice the height of the drum. This might be stated also: the lower diameter of the capital at the astragal is doubled in the height of the capital, quadrupled in the upper breadth of the impost. It is about equal to the height of the impost. The proportion of the heights of upper and lower impost bands is about that of the lower and upper breadth of a twin capital on its broader sides (.32: .50 and .065: .09, or .06: .10).

Of the two visible surfaces of the impost—the upper, a simple horizontal band, and the lower, beveled—it is the second which receives the richer and more deeply carved ornament. The upper is covered with imbrications, in very low, almost shadowless, relief, of many patterns; or is inscribed, or striped horizontally, or given a decoration of flat lambrequins, triangles, lozenges, beads, arcatures, disks, and intersecting semicircles. These separate geometrical *motifs* are repeated in horizontal succession, tangent, or at regular intervals. In only a few impost bands is a scheme of two alternating *motifs* employed, and these are usually very simple, like lozenge and bead, disk and dart, etc.

On the lower surface of the impost, however, a most magnificent decoration of animal and plant forms is used. Placed between the nonliving, geometric ornament of the upper surface and the human figures of the capital proper, it seems that, in innocence or by design, distinctions of vitality or importance have been rendered by distinctions of relief and of architecture. I shall not stop here to analyze this decoration, which deserves a separate discussion.

The drum of the capital retains several classic members. Two volutes form an upper frame of the figured scenes on each face. Usually they do not meet at the center but are interrupted by a triangle inscribed between them to form a zigzag. In the Miracle of Cana a central pair of volutes copies purer classical models (Figs. 56, 57). The central console

70. The combined diameters of the astragals are a little more than .41 m., whereas on most of the twin capitals their breadth ranges from .32 to .36. A similar proportion appears in the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 58) (and an

ornamental capital in the west gallery—the fourth from the south pier), of which the breadth of the astragal on the longer sides is .40 m.

block is likewise an ancient survival. Here its form is elaborated. No less than twelve different shapes may be counted, ranging from simple rectangular blocks, with one beveled surface, to finely curved consoles, not susceptible to an immediate geometrical definition. The most elaborate and varied forms appear in the south gallery, the simplest in the east. The astragals likewise receive different ornaments. The greater number are plain torus moldings, but several are cabled, and many have an ornament of lozenge-nets, ovals, imbrications, and horizontal strings, like the upper impost band. As on the consoles, the richest forms appear in the south gallery, where astragal decorations are most common.

The surfaces of the capitals, below the volutes and consoles, are covered with human and animal figures or with foliate patterns. The latter are evident adaptations of the forms of the Corinthian capital; but on a few capitals palmettes rather than acanthus forms are employed, and the separate units are enclosed in scrolls in a manner unknown in the classic capital. The animals are mainly birds or lions confronted or adossed in simple heraldic groups. On several capitals occur human figures between such animals or dragons. Stylistically, the animal and human forms on these capitals do not differ from those on the historiated ones. Their combination is a little simpler, but the anatomical structure, the contours, the modeling, the details of the features are quite similar to those of the narrative figures. Even the symmetrical grouping and the ornamental devices of these capitals recur in some of the iconographic compositions.

On the historiated capitals the figures are set on a curved neutral surface, in a relief, which though very low when measured in its absolute projection, is high in proportion to the total size of the capitals and the figures. The scenes are spread out on all four faces of the capital; but we shall see that an effort was made to achieve pictorial unity by limiting separate incidents to a single face, and by framing the figures by the volutes and buildings carved at the angles. On several capitals of the east and west galleries (Figs. 45, 52, 53-57, 65, 86) inscriptions are incised, sometimes in disorder, on the neutral surfaces between the figures. In the south and north galleries this practice is less common; it is only in the capitals of most primitive style that the background is thus treated. On the more skillfully carved works, the inscriptions are placed on the impost block or are incised on the capital itself in vertical and horizontal lines. In no capitals of the cloister are the inscriptions more vagrant and decomposed than in those which show the greatest simplicity in the composition of the figures and a striving for symmetrical, decorative groupings of the incidents.

These inscriptions usually name the figures represented. Sometimes even the animals are accompanied by their names or initials (Fig. 86). On several capitals, not only the names of the actors but their actual speech is reproduced. On the capital of Cain and Abel, the Lord's question and Abel's reply are both incised on the common background. The abbreviated texts of the Beatitudes accompany the figures that personify these sentences (Fig. 90). Occasionally, as on the capitals narrating the miracle of St. Martin (Fig. 83) and the fall of Nebuchadnezzar (Fig. 22), whole lines from the text illustrated are copied on the imposts above the figures. The latter practice is a more refined device than the other. In the very use of the inscriptions, as in the carving of the figures, may be observed various stages of archaism. The naming of the figures on the adjacent surface reveals the most naïve pictographic intention; the placing of a text above the scene is a more recent development.

* * *

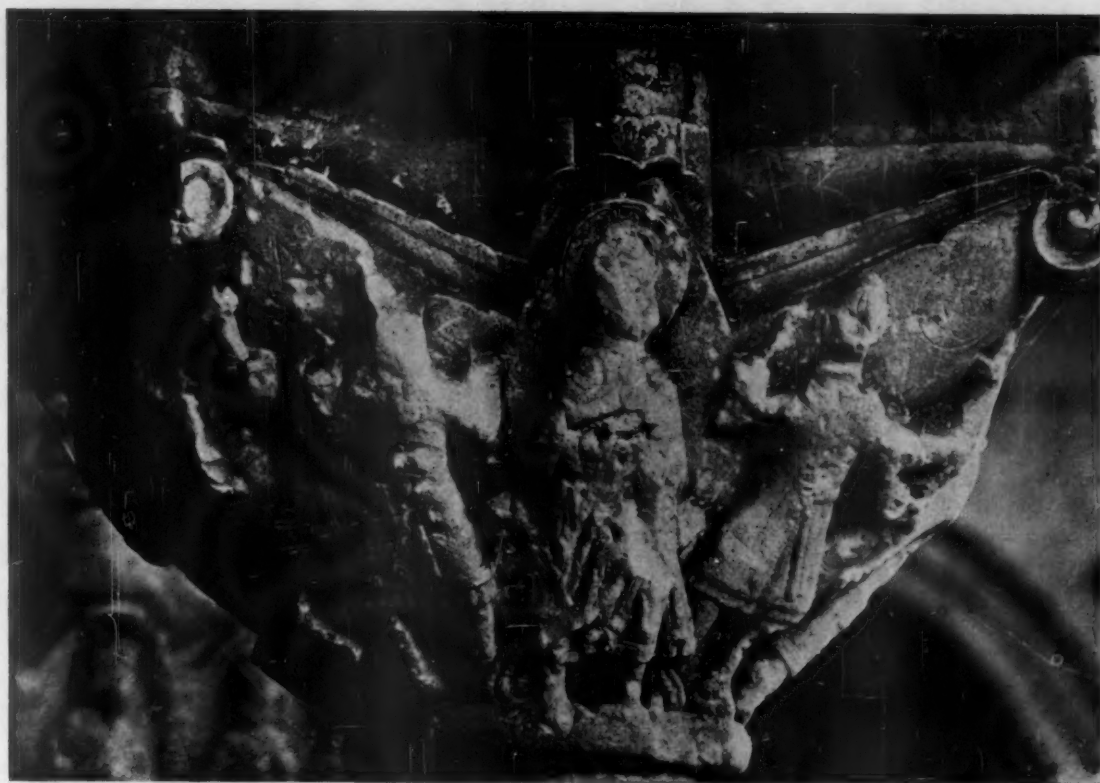


FIG. 25—*Stephen Preaching* (6)



FIG. 26—*David's Musicians, Ethan and Idithun* (8)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of South Gallery



FIG. 27—*The Chaining of the Devil* (10)



FIG. 28—*Goliath (the Devil), Og, and Magog* (10)
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of South Gallery

When the sculptor of Moissac wished to represent the story of Adam and Eve he did not isolate a single incident from the Biblical text, but carved upon the same surface the Temptation, the Reproach of the Lord, the Expulsion, and the Earthly Labors of the pair. Adam appears four times upon this one relief; we are asked to regard the figures in a sequence in time as well as space, and to read them as we read the text they illustrate (Figs. 47-49).

The same primitive continuity of narrative occurs on most of the figured capitals of the cloister.

Since the entire surface of a capital could not be seen at one glance, it was admirably fitted for the continuous method of narrative sculpture. It escaped by its limitation of the field visible at the same time the inconsistency of several moments presented as simultaneous; and in this respect resembled the papyrus or parchment roll of ancient art and the columns of triumph on which successive scenes were deployed on a winding surface.

And like the ancient sculptors, who imposed a more complex dramatic unity on the separate incidents of the narrative sequence, the artists of Moissac practiced also those foreshortenings of episode which reveal the most events in the fewest gestures or figures. On the capital of the Martyrdom of John the Baptist, the martyr's head appears on the banquet table, while the figure of Salome at the right, with one hand raised, refers to a previous moment of the narrative (Fig. 21). The Expulsion of Adam and Eve likewise combines two incidents. On the south face the angel expels from Paradise two figures clad in the skins of beasts. Eve at the left grasps the branch of a tree projecting from the west face, where Adam reappears with a pruning stick. The Magi proceed from a building labeled Jerusalem and march to the Virgin and Child who are seated before Bethlehem; behind the first structure is enthroned Herod, ordering the Massacre of the Innocents, which takes place before him. This scene is framed at the right by the same tower of Bethlehem (Figs. 58-60).

The continuous illustration of connected episodes in Moissac cannot be identified, however, with the classic or primitive process, from which it differs in a peculiar manner. Whereas the continuity of representation on a column of triumph or a picture book like the Joshua Roll is maintained by a formal treatment which mingles the figures and backgrounds of successive episodes, so that the movement proceeds without interruption in a single direction, in Moissac four surfaces are demarcated on a capital and as many incidents are usually represented.⁷¹ Here the continuous method is limited by the architectural isolation of scenes, further accented by the decorative unity of each surface. Each face of a capital is often bounded by single figures or buildings, which frame the central scene; while the centralizing of action or design by the heraldic arrangement of elements about an apparent midpoint or axis only confirms this discontinuity.

This distinction from the classical continuous illustration appears also in the variable and indeterminate direction of the story. For not only are scenes rendered as static symbolic arrangements or architectural decorations, but incidents on adjacent sides of a capital may have no apparent connection.⁷²

71. The same figure rarely appears twice on a single side of a capital. An exception is the Virgin in the Annunciation and Visitation (Figs. 68, 69).

72. This limitation of the continuous method in mediaeval art was not perceived by Dagobert Frey in his excellent *Gothik und Renaissance*, 1930, in which he dis-

On the same capital the Magi approach the Virgin from the right (Fig. 58), while the Massacre of the Innocents proceeds from Herod seated at the left (Figs. 59, 60). The historical order of the Adam and Eve capital is right to left; of the Annunciation and Visitation from left to right (Figs. 68, 69); and in a scene like the Martyrdom of John (Fig. 21) the presence of the foreshortened narrative makes it the more difficult to judge if the actual beheading at the right implied a movement from right to left or the reverse.⁷³

There cannot be a strict order or direction in scenes placed on the four sides of a pyramid without indication of an end or starting point. In the Temptation of Christ (Figs. 32, 35) each of the four incidents is isolated; and by no possible interpretation of gestures can we infer the textual order of the incidents. The feeding of Christ by the angels, which terminates the action in the Gospels, is in fact placed here between the second and third temptations (Fig. 35).

The incidents are usually so self-contained in composition that only before a few capitals, which will be considered later, have we any impulse to shift our position the better to comprehend the meaning or structure of a group.

Even when two incidents appear upon the same face of a capital they are so designed that a single decorative composition emerges; the two actions diverge from a common axis (Figs. 50, 59). This is not the succession of movements characteristic of continuous illustration.

This peculiarity of the narrative method in Moissac is an essential character of the style; and hence the analysis of its elements and the distinction from other types of continuous illustration are instructive.

It seems to be occasioned by the architecture of the capital, which is crowned by a rectangular member. The impost commands a separate attention to the figures under each of its sides, and these are consequently treated as isolated fields of composition.

Such an explanation is incomplete, however. The rectangularity of the impost was itself designed by the sculptor; its clear, sharply defined surfaces, its geometrical ornament in low relief, indicate to us that the shape of the impost was not an anterior condition that determined the grouping of the figures, but was simply one element of the whole, like the figures themselves, and shared with them a common archaic character.

The pointed arches and ornament of Gothic picture frames will clarify this relation. The irregular forms within the pictures are not determined by these irregular boundaries, but both are specifically Gothic creations. The very analogy of frame and enclosed forms (as in the Romanesque works) is a common mediaeval character.

The grouping of figures under a single side of an impost is not merely meant to define limits of action or space, but is also decorative, and approaches in the thorough pervasiveness of its design the character of pure ornament. The trapezoidal shape of the surface, with the broader side above, like a blazon, enhances its heraldic effect. A scene has thus a double aspect—it is a religious illustration, and like the secular ornaments of other capitals it is an abstract architectural design. Even the most literal and episodic

tinguishes early mediaeval space and representation as successive and those of the Renaissance as simultaneous. He has identified the order of the represented objects (content) with the order of the design, although these may be distinct.

73. Interesting for the composite rather than narrative

successive character of Romanesque illustration is the grouping of incidents on the tympanum of Bourg-Argental (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 1923, ill. 1150), where the scenes are ordered from right to left, but the figures within these scenes move from left to right.



FIG. 29—*Symbols of the Evangelists—the Eagle of John (II)*



FIG. 30—*Symbols of the Evangelists—the Man of Matthew (II)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of South Gallery



FIG. 31—*Christ and the Centurion of Capernaum (12)*



FIG. 32—*Temptation of Christ (14)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of South Gallery

representations have this decorative character; the common distinction between illustration and decoration is inapplicable here, except in so far as some capitals with fewer figures have a more obvious ornamental design than others.

The design has a specific quality which distinguishes it at once from Gothic and later illustrative combinations. The movements of figures, their positions, and accessories have the simplicity and definiteness of very archaic ornament. Whereas the symmetry of later works is a more or less general correspondence of parts which does not preclude a considerable variety of shapes in the details, in the cloister of Moissac the general structure of the capital is more rigorously maintained in the elements, and the simplicity announced in the disposition of the larger objects pervades the entire composition. This does not mean that the figured capitals are works of pure ornament—since the illustrative groups are often single units of diverse parts, or similar units asymmetrically combined, and rarely attain the formulated, conventional regularity of an ornamental series. Romanesque sculptured illustration is to Gothic as the ornaments of these styles are to each other. In the Romanesque ornament every element seems schematic and skeletal with respect to the whole, while in the more recent work, the formal type, the series or relation of parts, is an abstraction made by the spectator. The whole has a freer unconstrained appearance, like actual flowers.

In the early Romanesque ornament of Moissac the *motif* is designed as an ideal example of the simplest and most general relations evident in the actual object represented. The petals of a flower are strictly assimilated to a radial structure, and the repetition of the flower itself constitutes an ideal series of which the elements are equivalent. The more complex details are submitted to a similar process. The curling of the petals is uniform in relief and may be defined geometrically. The asymmetrical plant forms in scrolls are no less regular. Their unequal lobes constitute an ideal helicoid movement.

In the same way the grouping of figures in iconographic themes often reproduces the most general relations of objects. Figures with the same function are often parallel and similar in gesture. The simplicity of the shapes of the figures is maintained in their combinations.

But this archaic conception of narrative or dramatic relations is only one factor in the decorative character of the whole. Besides this conceptual simplicity there is the apparent assimilation of the objects to the architecture of the capital and the style of ornament. The architecture of the capital is not an external element which imposes itself on the illustration and determines its form, but, as I remarked of the impost, is itself a conception analogous to the ornament and the figures. It has a similar archaism, and a similar expressive character. Its pronounced diagonal shapes, its symmetry, its accented contrast of surfaces, its centralized zigzag frame and volutes, all these are correlates of the figure style.

The inverted trapezoidal field of each side of the capital demanded either distortion and instability of corner figures or ingenious evasions. The sculptor sacrificed plausibility to simple decoration. In the capital of Adam and Eve the edicule representing the gate of paradise (Fig. 49) is inclined at an angle more precarious than that of any leaning tower, and is surely unstable.⁷⁴ The figure of Eve at the other end also follows the slope of the

74. Cf. also the diagonal sides of the building in Cana

(Fig. 56). In Lazarus and Dives (Fig. 55) the corner tower cuts the adjacent building diagonally.

profile of the capital; and on the north face, the Lord and the tree are diagonally composed (Fig. 48). This is true of most of the figures and objects placed under the volutes of the cloister capitals. Regarded from the side, these figures appear vertical and stable; but the rest of the capital is thereby distorted. It is obvious that the sculptor usually planned the capital as a series of four separate surfaces, and accepted the consequences of a trapezoidal shape (regardless of an actually unformulated conflict with natural appearances) for its decorative and expressive possibilities.

The sculptural field is limited not only by the diagonal sides of the inverted trapezoid, but by an even more unusual upper frame. For the figures must be fitted under the zigzag formed by the volute bands and a triangle of which the apex touches the central console. This upper frame appears on all four sides of most of the capitals. It is a survival of the Corinthian capital and illustrates the preservation of no longer relevant parts of a parent form even when the artistic character of the offspring is totally different from its ancestor's. The central triangle is a flattened angularized version of the central leaf of the upper row of acanthus of a rough-hewn Corinthian capital. In the capitals of the Three Hebrews (Fig. 82), St. Benedict (Figs. 71, 72), St. Martin (Fig. 83), and the Crusaders before Jerusalem (Fig. 81), the original leaf appears between the volute bands with its curved tip and axial ridge. But there is even reason to believe that this was not an unconscious survival or a merely traditional routine. For on the capitals representing Adam and Eve and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Figs. 50, 51), the central console is modeled in the form of a rough-hewn acanthus leaf. And in the Wedding of Cana (Fig. 56), where the usual triangle is absent, it is replaced by a pair of central volutes, as in the true Corinthian capital. The free use of the volutes, the simplified curved leaf form and its flattened triangular derivative as equivalent decorations of the same part of the capital shows that the sculptors were aware of their original structural relations, and that the man who employed the triangle knew of its more plastic source. Where neither leaf, nor triangle, nor central volutes appear (Annunciation to Shepherds (Fig. 86), St. Saturninus (Fig. 61), Washing of Feet (Fig. 53), etc.) their place is always occupied by a central object—a head, tower, or plant form—so that the symmetrical design of the upper frame and the whole capital is not disturbed.

The zigzag frame is not an ordinary diagonal *motif* or a regular zigzag. The greater breadth of the two outer lines, the variety of angles, the distinction of an inner triangle, the termination by spiral volutes—all these constitute a symmetrical centralized structure, rather than the endless zigzag of pure ornament.

On the broader surfaces of the twin capitals the central triangle of the upper frame has an evident similarity to the junction of the lower parts. At this junction there is usually a triangular concavity. The zigzag frame provides also a transition from the sloping sides of the capital to the diagonal profile of the beveled band of the impost. It gives a greater elegance to the total form of the capital by its vertical and diagonal directions and spiral terminations. As a restless angular form crowning figures in action this frame participates in the expression of the sculptured forms and confirms a quality of the design already observed in the piers. Like the sloping sides of the capital it precludes a classic tectonic structure in the composition. The "architectural" figure is diagonal, not vertical and horizontal.

* * *



FIG. 33—*Christ and the Canaanite Woman—Apostles (12)*



FIG. 34—*The Good Samaritan Pays the Innkeeper (13)*

Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of South Gallery

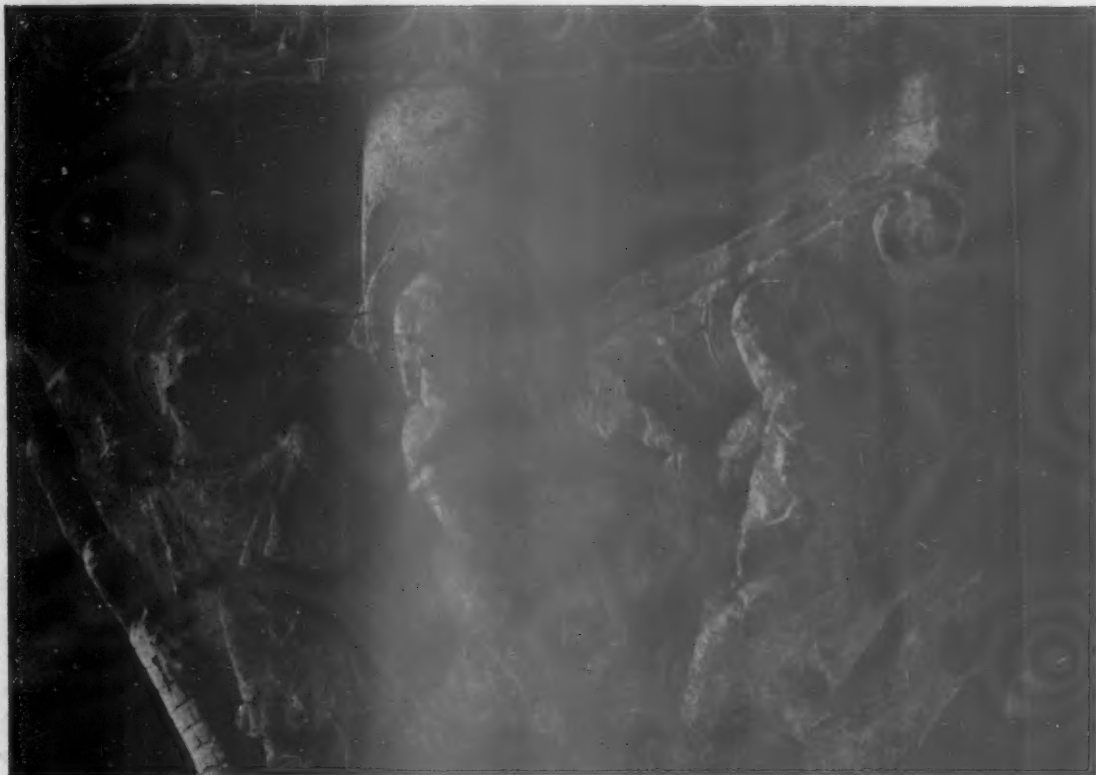


FIG. 35—*Christ Served by Angels after the Temptation* (14)



FIG. 36—*The Vision of John—Apocalyptic Rider* (15)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of South Gallery

Where the subject provided only two or three figures, or suggested a central theme and two equal accessories, the artist was frankly decorative. In the Annunciation to the Shepherds (left of Fig. 87), the two goats confronting the central plant hardly seem part of a narrative theme, and are indistinguishable in design from the purely ornamental animal capitals. It is true that this face of the capital has been inscribed to suggest a relation to the story; but even the inscription is an ornament, and is arranged symmetrically. The word "cabras" is incised behind each goat, and on the right side is written backwards, with the letters reversed, АЯВАС. This is not illiteracy, as has been suggested, but the result of an artistic intention.⁷⁵ On the central console block another inscription (SISVA—for SILVA) designates a palm between the goats as a forest. On the adjoining face of the same capital, a similar heraldic design represents Daniel between the lions (Fig. 87). Here too, the rampant animals are adossed, heads turned to each other, next to the central seated prophet with symmetrically orant hands. The inscriptions are likewise distributed in parallel ornamental schemes. As in textile patterns, the interspaces between the figures are filled, though here with letters.⁷⁶

Even in capitals without such animals the artist has contrived human figures as schematically grouped as the animals in ornamental combinations. In a capital like the Adoration of the Cross a symmetrical arrangement was inevitable; two angels stand beside a central cross. But on the east and west faces of the same capital an isolated figure of an angel has been more arbitrarily bent to a decorative pattern from which results an angelic radiance (Fig. 85). He stands with outstretched arms in the center of the field between the great wings of the adjoining angels of the other sides of the capital. His own wings are spread out in diagonal lines repeating the volutes of the frame; his mantle forms a semicircle in contrast to these straight lines, and repeats the curves of the wings of the adjoining angels. The legs of these figures constitute a powerful diagonal frame below, while minor curves of drapery on the central figure repeat and diffuse these tangent arcs throughout his body.

This axial mass is not a rigid center of the theme, but is itself twisted and turned to produce within the heart of the design an energetic asymmetry, which includes the circular movements of the larger outer forms. The head is turned to the right, the feet to the left; the diagonal of the torso is opposed to that of the left leg, so that a zigzag results

75. In the Washing of Feet (Fig. 52) the name of Peter is incised in his nimbus from right to left. It is the symmetrical counterpart of the name of Christ who kneels before him at the left. The reversal of direction produces a pairing of names analogous to the grouping of the two figures. I mention here, as of possible significance to those who might seek an iconographic interpretation of this reversal, the existence of a retrograde inscription to St. Peter in the lapidary museum of Béziers in Languedoc (J. D., *L'Histoire de Béziers racontée par ses pierres—Catalogue du Musée Lapidaire*, Béziers, Barthe, 1912, pl. XXIV, fig. 1). See also note 82 below. The inscription of Nero in the martyrdom of Paul (Fig. 45) is also reversed; it corresponds to the scepter on the left side.

76. The decomposition of words in the most archaic capitals of the cloister corresponds to the unnaturalistic decorative distortion or realignment of the separate abstracted elements of an object. The word as an incised

composite object, of which the elements could be freely rearranged to make new words, had, perhaps, no substantial rigidity to an archaic artist; its elements, the letters, stood in no necessary relation to the whole, and could be arranged freely, except where a specific combination (the monogram of Christ) had a special symbolic value.

Another archaism in the inscriptions of the cloister is the reversal of N and S even in normal inscriptions—a practice common in the writing of children and the newly literate. It is also characteristic of the archaic indeterminacy of the form of S and N, which have two diagonal axes—one explicit, the other implied—that in the reversed inscription, mentioned above, the final S has been detached from the word and written in its normal direction between the two goats, and that in the reversed inscription of Nero (Fig. 45) only the N remains normal.

from the movements of the limbs, which is accented by the jeweled band across the breast and the diagonal edge of the tunic across the legs. An additional contrast is produced by the asymmetrical nimbus. The whole figure is cast in a stiff *contrapposto*, in which we can detect, however, a symmetrical organization from top to bottom in the contrasted directions of the head and feet, the torso and legs.

In the east gallery, on the capital of the Martyrdom of Peter and Paul, an angel carries the nude souls of the two saints in his arms (Fig. 46). He stands in the very middle of the field, his head and halo on the central console, his wings outstretched to form a background of the relief and a frame. The little figures are identical in gesture and position; their arms diverge in loops from the angel's breast as his wings spread out from behind his head. The legs of the martyrs emerge from a widening pit, wedged in the narrow base of the field between the sides of the triangular frame.

The souls of the three Spanish martyrs (Fig. 67) are similarly grouped. They are enclosed, standing and orant, in one mandorla, between two angels. The Hand of God appears on the console on the upper point of the jeweled glory.⁷⁷

Such a centralized design occurs also in the Martyrdom of St. Saturninus (Fig. 63). In the scenes from the life of St. Martin the figure of Christ bears the divided mantle between two angels. In these works the symmetry is not merely a device of simple composition; it penetrates the smaller elements of design, and controls gestures, contours, and accessories to such a degree that the whole may be analyzed with ease.

In the hagiographic scenes, especially, the formalizing of gesture, composition, and the small details of drapery, so that the whole appears as something prearranged, permanent, and hierarchal, has an air of liturgical seriousness. Here the guarantee of order implied in symmetry is of religious as well as artistic significance.

This centralized design is also apparent in the architectural representations. Where a building occupies the face of a capital it is placed in the middle and flanked by towers or other equal structures. Sometimes the building is a narrow tower in the very middle of the field, separating two groups of figures, that are usually disposed parallel to each other in gesture or movement (Figs. 50, 59).

In the examples of symmetrical composition cited above, the subject is essentially static and implies no dominant movement across the surface of the capital. There are other capitals in which episodes rather than symbols or hieratic groups have been submitted to a similar conception. In the representation of the wise man (possibly Daniel) interpreting the dream of Nebuchadnezzar (Fig. 22), the central position of the king is not merely official; it is an iconographic correlate of a design in which the symmetry has been maintained by numerous accessories. The three figures are framed by three arches; the axis is confirmed in the arched contour of the console; and the king sits with legs crossed symmetrically in the very middle of the field.

On the capital of the Martyrdom of Stephen, the saint preaching to the Jews is placed in the center of the surface on a seat with diagonal legs, which repeat the triangle above his halo (Fig. 25). The trefoil edge of the console is a further means of centralizing the action. Two figures who menace the saint stand at his sides with arms raised in similar diagonal gestures. Likewise, in the adjoining scene of Stephen led by his accusers, he

77. Note the lotus-like plant on which the saints and angels repose—a remarkable parallel to Chinese Buddhist

sculptures which also present such groupings of figures on a mandorla-shaped surface.



FIG. 37—*The Vision of John (15)*

Moissac, Cloister: Capital of South Gallery

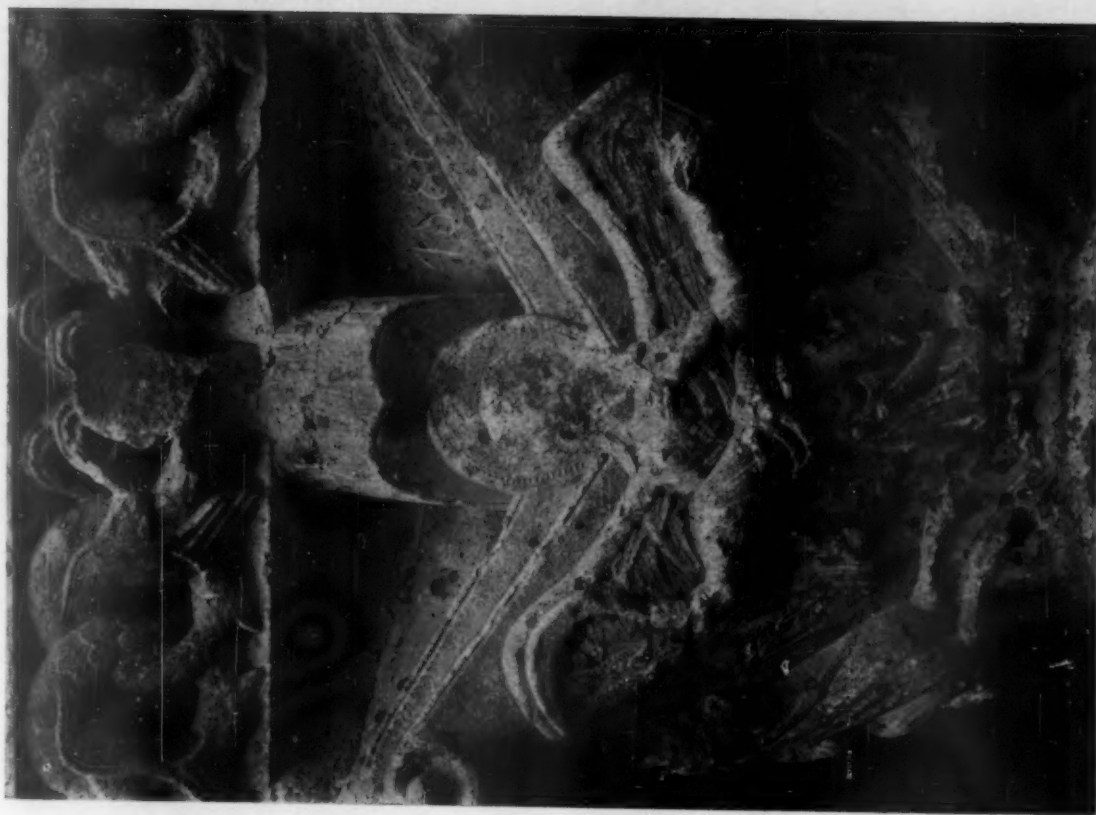


FIG. 38—*The Vision of John—the Angel with the Sickle (15)*

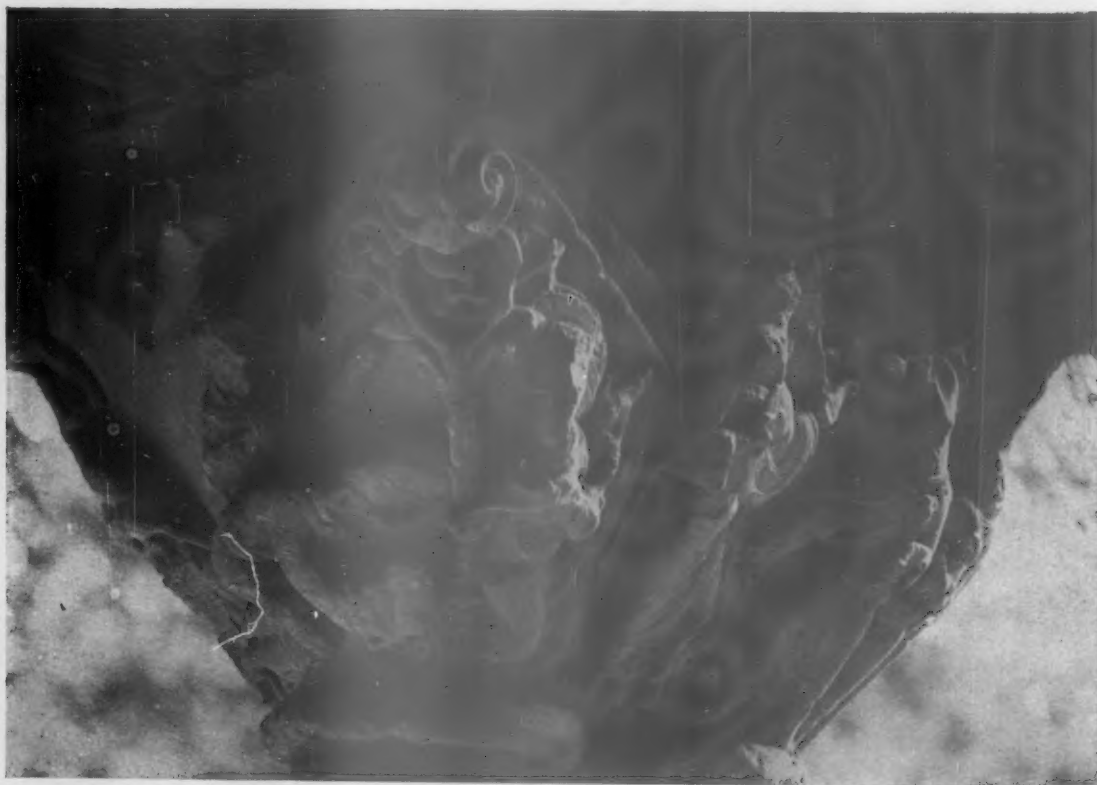


FIG. 39—*Transfiguration of Christ* (16)



FIG. 40—*Descent from the Mountain* (16)
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of South Gallery

stands in the center of the field (Fig. 24); if he faces the right, the symmetry of the whole is maintained by the flanking figures, who are slightly differentiated to balance the inequality produced by the direction of Stephen's movement. How intently the sculptor was preoccupied with closed compositions of clear and finely sustained symmetry we may see in the arbitrary extension of Stephen's mantle, flying to the left, and forming a diagonal mass and a movement which correspond to the extended arm on the other side.

In the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 60) two mothers with infants in their arms are placed in the middle of the field and are so designed with their children that they constitute a perfectly symmetrical group. This conception is all the more significant for the primacy of a decorative end in representation because the symmetry is maintained at the sides of this group by two soldiers who belong to different moments of the action. The soldier at the left faces Herod, who is seated on the western surface of the capital, and commands him to massacre the children. The soldier at the right faces the eastern side of the capital on which are superposed the murdered children and their detached limbs. Elements of three actions are combined into a single centralized static pattern.

The crusaders before Jerusalem (Fig. 81) are not represented in procession, but are grouped in twos in symmetrical adaptation to the field. Each bears a great spear or axe in his extended arm, parallel to the diagonal edge of the capital.

In the scene of the Calling of the Apostles, Christ stands between the waves with arms extended symmetrically; his arms and shoulders parallel the zigzag frame of the capital, while groups of fishes, arbitrarily introduced beside him, form a lower diagonal frame (Fig. 77). In the adjoining scenes of the fishermen almost every detail has been subjected to a preconceived symmetry (Figs. 75, 76). The waves despite their continuity are made to diverge from the center of the capital like two undulating wings; the net is suspended from the very mid-point of the boat; and two volutes spring from within the boat to meet directly beneath the central console. The symmetry is beautifully sustained by the clear and uniform succession of relief surfaces. I feel that the trefoil section of the console (Fig. 75) was thoughtfully designed so that the entire scene might culminate in a symmetrical object with a salient central mass between analogous forms in lower relief. Its convexity provides a necessary contrast to the concave center of the lower portion of the field.

The subordination of narrative to architectural design is apparent in a remarkable detail of the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 58). Two great petaled flowers are carved on the volute bands near the spiral terminations. They are symmetrically placed, and seem a purely ornamental addition to the theme. But an inscription next to each flower tells us that they are stars; they are labeled OR to designate the eastern star followed by the wise men. The repetition of the star can only illustrate its double appearance to the men, and its movement before them as they marched to Bethlehem. ("And, lo, the star which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was." Matthew, ii, 9.) The textual recurrence in time has been converted into a static ornament, and even the star itself has become a flower.

But not all the capitals are as obviously composed. There are some which are regular in grouping, but a single prominent central theme is avoided. The Miracle of Cana (Fig. 57) is in this respect most remarkable and subtle. In the very middle of the field is the hand of Christ, hardly apparent, bearing a short horizontal magic stick; under it, the three jars

of water, symmetrically grouped, and above it, an open symmetrical book held out by the apostle to the left. Above the book are two immense central tangent volutes in high relief, like the corresponding jars below and the heads of the figures. The volutes are crowned by five tongue-like processes, arranged to parallel the three jars and the two adjoining figures. The diagonal bands of the central volutes form the sides of an equilateral triangle of which the base is the horizontal molding behind the jars. Together they invert the shape of the whole capital and frame the miraculous symbolic center theme. The edges of the mantles of Christ and the opposite apostle prolong the volute diagonal to the bottom of the capital; while, above, the haloes and the outer volute spirals carry the central volute *motif* across the upper part of the capital.⁷⁸ Further observation of this mutilated relief will reveal more correspondences of line, spacing, and mass that confirm our initial impression of the orderliness of its structure and its perfection of simple rhythmical form.

In the wedding scene on the same capital (Fig. 56) the figures are aligned in obvious succession, but monotony is avoided by a division into two groups, separated only at the upper and lower frame by pairs of central volutes, and by the variation of parts like the hands, the feet, and the dishes. A fine touch is the extension of the table before only five figures; the sixth stands at the right, and is the only diner whose entire figure is visible. And an additional asymmetry is created by the intrusion of the bride's tunic among the equal feet, ranged under the table like so many architectural supports.

Although the table seems to extend across the whole capital its center is not on the axis, but to the left, under the third figure (from the left), who encroaches more upon the table than any of the accompanying diners. If the symmetry of the whole is modified by this isolation of five figures within the large series, these five, in turn, are symmetrically arranged about the third figure. For the four diners at the ends of the table are disposed in equal groups of two by their common gestures and occupation with the food, and by the parallel incised folds of the tablecloth. The position of the bread on the table, in the middle of the capital rather than of the table, and the grouping of the feet below (as well as of the heads and volutes) assure the dominance of the main symmetry of six figures rather than of the five. But the symmetry of the latter is an effective disguise which gives a movement and variety to a simple, regular series without disturbing either its symmetry or its effect of casual and unpremeditated placing. It is interesting to observe how unique is each figure, how different the amplitude of the separate masses, and the overlapping of bodies, arms, and hands.

In the Adoration of the Magi the sculptor's problem was to relate an enthroned Virgin and Child to three Magi in procession (Fig. 58). Although he adopted the Hellenistic iconography which placed the sacred group at one end, he preserved the monumental frontality of ancient Eastern prototypes in setting the Virgin and Christ under the left volute unattentive to the three kings.

The composition is so simple and unpretentious that its solution of the problem will appear only upon inquiry. The sculptor has managed to wrest a symmetrical scheme from an apparently unsusceptible subject, by dividing the four units (the Virgin and Christ are one) into two groups, each set in one of the halves of the twin capital. He has made the

78. The insertion of a head between the two apostles

at the left balances the accent on the figures of Christ and the Virgin at the right.



FIG. 41—*Peter before Herod* (17)



FIG. 42—*Liberation of Peter* (17)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of South Gallery



FIG. 43—*Baptism of Christ* (18)



FIG. 44—*Samson and the Lion* (19)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals at Corner of South and East Galleries

first Magus, who adjoins the Virgin, smaller than his fellows. The two stars, already mentioned, are placed symmetrically on the volute bands above the figures. Lest the sharp line between the two halves of the capital be too striking a division, it is crossed by the salient mantle end of the second Magus. The garments of all three are thus blown forward, forming jutting triangles. With the raised arms of the Magi, carrying gifts, and the advancing legs, this mantle edge participates in a strong vertical zigzag movement, parallel in the three figures and opposed to their horizontal procession. By this means the predominantly vertical and triangular character of the Virgin theme is brought into relation with the horizontal order of the other three units. The flying drapery above her head is in this respect also significant.

Groupings of an asymmetrical or uncentralized character are not uncommon in the cloister. Although the presence of unlike objects in the story—man and beast, figures standing, seated, and recumbent, or characters in subordinate relation—does not conflict with and even suggests an ornamental grouping in some works (Daniel, Shepherds and Goats, Crucifixion of Peter, etc.) the subject could not be bent to such a scheme, or would not be treated in this manner, by an artist of more complex style. This is especially true of the work of the sculptor of the south gallery (Figs 26-42). In his capitals the more complicated asymmetrical conceptions sometimes include a general rather than pervasive symmetry. Even in the more archaic capitals, beside the striving for symmetry and simple alignment, less schematic structures are produced. But they are usually more compact, massive, and enclosed than those of the southern capitals and involve the use of simpler elements and rhythms. We have seen in the Miracle of Cana how the sculptor has modified the general symmetrical design in varying the equality of parts and the smaller details of drapery, gesture, and accessories.

On the capital of the Anointing of David (Fig. 89) the gestures of the figures, the horn of Samuel, and the mantle of David have been disposed to form regular curves, with a clear rhythmical alternation of concave and convex lines, as in arabesque patterns. The turn of the horn has an obvious relation to the arbitrarily extended and curved mantle of David. That this arrangement was deliberate seems to be indicated by an unusual asymmetry in the framing volute bands; the central triangle, above David's head, is irregular, in order to unite the curve of the horn with the left volute. The contours of the figures are so simple that the ideal geometrical structure of the relief is identical with the forms of the figures, just as in foliate ornament.

On this capital the curvilinear abstraction of the theme, which has also an illustrative value, since it produces an intense and active union of the two figures, corresponding to the episode, is concentrated in the center of the field. A related design is sometimes applied in a more diffused manner across an entire area. We see this in the figure of the apocalyptic dragon in the south gallery, in the scenes from the lives of Benedict and Martin in the north. In the latter, the group of Martin and the horse is evidently a preponderant mass (Fig. 83); the beggar is in posture and form so unlike the saint and the horse that the unity of the relief appears all the more remarkable. The sculptor has connected the two figures by a series of curves extending across the upper half of the field—curves formed by the great wing of an angel, brought over from an adjoining face, by the raised arms of Martin and the beggar, and by the concentric loops of the garment held between them. Related curves are abstracted from the beggar's ribs and skirt and from the body of the horse.

Even on the ordinarily asymmetrical theme of the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 84) the sculptor has centralized the figure of the boy. If the whole is not strictly symmetrical, it is organized with respect to a symmetrical zigzag and diagonal frame. But unlike the Anointment of David the whole has an angular character and numerous sharp oppositions, which transmit the quality of the episode itself. An angel behind Isaac corresponds to the figure of Abraham; the contours of his zigzag wings resemble the volute bands, the central triangle, and the gestures and knife of the patriarch. Isaac sits on a triangular heap of stones, and his own body is a structure of diagonal lines.

On the capital of the Deliverance of Peter (Fig. 42) three men with great pointed shields stand under the polylobed Moorish archway that symbolizes the prison. The symmetry is here inevitable; but the angel and Peter on the adjoining face lend themselves less readily to such simple repetition. Whereas Peter is chained and bent, the angel soars down from the clouds under the volute, almost horizontally extended. In the beautiful design of his outspread wings, the halo, and the movement of head and arms, he forms a linear sequence opposing, diffusing, and repeating the contours of Peter below. The curves of both figures are contrasted with similar straight diagonals of towers and walls and the volutes of the capital itself. The relief of the figures and the buildings also participates actively in the design. Nowhere else in the cloister is the surface of a capital so completely covered by as varied lines and planes, or the play of forms so concentrated and rich. The building of the adjacent side of the capital encroaches upon this side. Its corner is not under the volute but so far within the scene of Peter and the angel that it connects the former's foot with the angel's sleeve, and marks the meeting of two plane surfaces that break up the ordinary neutrality of the background, and contrast with the rounded forms of the two figures.

In the Appearance of the Angel to John, also in the south gallery (Fig. 37), we have a similar rhythmical grouping of two asymmetrically superposed figures. John is reclining on an unsupported bed suspended on the wall; the angel, emerging as before from under the volute, grasps his arms. The rear wing of the angel is carried across the capital to the other volute. If we examine the upper contour of this figure we will see that it is a continuous line of disguised symmetrical character. For its highest point is the angel's head beneath the console, from each side of which extend wing forms of subtly varied contour prolonged to the volute spirals. Likewise, below, the arms of the angel are nicely duplicated by the pleated folds of his hanging mantle on the right; and the opposed left arm of John finds its symmetrical counterpart in a diagonal molding along the outer edge of the same mantle. In this scene the apparent network of intricate, freely rhythmical shapes includes a larger, though not instantly apparent, symmetrical structure. The grouping of the heads and arms of the two figures, if regarded with respect to a diagonal axis, will reveal itself as a simple scheme of two equal opposed heads separated by a triangle of which the base is formed by their united outer arms, and the sides by the opposed inner ones. As a completing touch (which helps establish the symmetry of the whole scene) this triangle is crowned by another of which the apex is the left volute, and of which the sides are the angel's wing and the diagonal wall of John's chamber (only barely visible in the photograph). The sculptor has won a symmetrical disposition from the whole group by the extension of the angel's wings, the centralizing of his head, the incision in low relief of two side walls rising to the volutes, and by the prolongation of John's coverlet to form a simple base. Where the story contradicted this regularity of design, as in the opposition



FIG. 45—Martyrdom of Peter and Paul—Nero (20)

Moissac, Cloister: Capital of East Gallery



FIG. 46—Angel with Souls of Peter and Paul (20)



FIG. 47—*Temptation of Adam and Eve (22)*



FIG. 48—*Adam before the Lord (22)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of East Gallery

of the two figures, he has further converted these unsubordinate elements into another symmetrical group, but with respect to a diagonal axis defined by the inclination of their heads and the left volute band. To unite these three systems of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal axes he has multiplied certain folds, and extended wings so that a harmonious interpenetration results. Thus the volute bands are prolonged in the distorted right arm of the angel and the falling mantle-edge, while in the space between, trapezoids and triangles are inscribed to duplicate the structure of the capital and to link objects more intensely than is possible by gesture alone.⁷⁹

In the east gallery, on a capital of which some figures are aligned in simple repetition—the Washing of the Feet—the figures of different pose have a beautiful play of line and of the masses of body and limbs (Figs. 52, 53). The first impression of the utter awkwardness and lack of skill of this sculptor, created by the squatness of the apostles, their thick folds and homely bodies, yields to a perception of the nicety of his feeling for linear rhythm and massing. As in the Vision of John, the work of a far more skillful sculptor, the diagonals of joined arms of Christ and Peter intervene between the heads, and the contours of the bodies bring apparently casual movements into intimate plastic relation.

It would take too long to inquire into the structure of each scene in the cloister. Those analyzed above have been merely summarized rather than thoroughly read. And no two capitals are identical in design. The symmetry is of variable shapes and combinations, while within the skeleton of axial structure are developed less simple but as rhythmical articulations.

I have considered so far mainly those scenes which form closed compositions corresponding to a single trapezoidal surface of a capital. In several sculptures the scenes are not isolated by means of figures or objects placed at the sides of the field, and the action is expanded across two or three faces of the capital. But even in such works the single surfaces retain their compositional unity; the figures are so contrived that if each face of the capital were isolated and the figures cut off at the ideal frame of the trapezoid, the resulting design would be balanced and complete, despite the incompleteness of illustration.⁸⁰

In the Martyrdom of Lawrence the angels who cense and fan the body of the saint, lying on the central grill (Fig. 51), extend in symmetrical correspondence across the upper part of the capital. Their wings have an analogous correspondence and help frame the scene; but the bodies of the angels actually emerge from the volutes of the adjoining faces. In the same way the symmetrical bellows beside the grill are held by executioners on adjacent sides of the capital.

On the capital of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace (Fig. 82) the action, extending around the entire capital, forms separate structures as symmetrical and decorative as the most rigorously designed animal ornaments. The Hebrews stand in the corners under the volutes, with arms outstretched—one arm on each side of the capital. The center of the field is occupied by flames—symmetrical wavy processes, like gigantic vegetation. The orant arms of the Hebrews parallel the waves and complete

79. The ornament of the impost also participates in this conception, although so remote from it in content. Despite its involvement and interlaced birds, the ornament of the lower band is symmetrically divided. The birds diverge from a central mascarón of which they grasp

the divergent horns as the angel grasps the hands of John.

80. There is an especially subtle example in the Martyrdom of Saturninus (Figs. 61, 62). Here the design of adjacent faces is related by common diagonal directions.

the ornament of flames. But these arms, considered from the corner of the capital, form a symmetrical enclosure of the figure and a zigzag movement in contrast to the volutes. Even the costumes of the figures reflect this conception in the zigzag ends of the tunics, a reminiscence of Oriental costume traditional in this scene. When we regard the figures in relation to the frame we understand why the Hebrews were not placed in the center of the field under the consoles.

In these two works the unenclosed narrative was easily submitted to symmetrical designs. But in some subjects the action has a more dominant single direction which could not be bent to so formalized an arrangement. On a capital of the south gallery, devoted to the apocalyptic Chaining of the Dragon (Fig. 27), the monster is led by an angel who emerges from under the volute of one side and extends across the adjacent surface of the capital up to a building which occupies its remote extremity. That the single surfaces were considered as compositional units, despite the obvious direction and continuity of the scene, is apparent from the position of the dragon, which occupies almost the entirety of one field, and from the extension of the garment and wings of the angel to complete the design of a field in which he himself does not participate. By this extension the episodic unity is itself furthered, in so far as the angel, who is turned away from the dragon, is thereby connected with him. It is possible that the illustrative significance affected the design, for the dragon is placed asymmetrically in the field to admit this extension of wings and clothing, and his tail is coiled upward to form a mass corresponding to these parts of the angel and a movement parallel to them. Despite the asymmetry of the beast he is placed so that a prominent plastic bulk occupies the center of the field; in the correspondences of the angel and the monster's tail there is visible a symmetrical design. Even within the latter's body an analogous correspondence has been contrived in the assimilation of his large head and the lower wing.

The conception of the surfaces of the capital as isolated fields with enclosed designs seems to be contradicted by such expanded episodic themes as the Good Samaritan (Fig. 34) and the Transfiguration (Figs. 39, 40). In the latter the iconography differs from the traditional type in that the three apostles are grouped on one side of Christ, the two prophets on the other. The Descent from the Mountain is also represented (Fig. 40). In the first scene the three apostles, who are placed on two sides of the capital, move in one direction. By dividing them in this manner, so that two are on the south face and the third on the east, next to Christ, the sculptor was able to enclose each face more easily and yet retain the effect of an episodic composition moving in a specific direction. On the south face, a palm tree placed under the volute, arrests the forward movement of the two apostles; while a third figure at the other end of the same face, belonging to another scene (the Descent from the Mountain) and moving in the opposite direction, balances the first group. We see on this face the elements of two episodes united without intelligible relation, yet perfectly coördinated as relief compositions. This indicates to us that the archaic clarity might pertain less to meanings than to forms.

If the figure of Christ in the Transfiguration is not isolated between the two prophets, as in the imposing conventional iconography, He retains, nevertheless, a central position between one apostle and one prophet. The second prophet, under the volute, is balanced by the palm tree already described. Christ faces the right, like the apostle beside Him; but this strong direction in the scene is overcome by the opposite movement of the prophets and the vigorous diagonal extension of the arm of the first prophet.



FIG. 49—*Expulsion of Adam and Eve; Adam Pruning a Tree*.(22)



FIG. 50—*Martyrdom of St. Laurence* (24)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of East Gallery



FIG. 51—*St. Lawrence on the Grill (24)*



FIG. 52—*The Washing of Feet (25)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of East Gallery

Even in the Descent from the Mountain (Fig. 40), in which four figures proceed in the same direction, the sculptor has cast the whole group into an axial pattern of balanced directions. An apostle has been placed in the exact center of the field under the console; he is flanked on one side by Christ and a building (the tabernacles of Peter), on the other by two apostles. If they all walk towards the left, the upper body of Christ is turned back to regard the apostles, and two figures make gestures of the hand opposed to the direction of their march.

It is in the same spirit that this very sculptor, in the beautiful figure of the Apocalyptic rider (Fig. 36), has opposed the movement of the lion by the flying mantle of the angel and the extended wing behind him to form a completely closed composition.

It is apparent, nevertheless, that in capitals of the south gallery and in a few of the north the composition of single faces is not so deliberately enclosed as on the other capitals, and that the horizontal direction of episodes is more prominent even if finally submitted to a balanced scheme. The corner figures or objects sometimes participate in two actions on these capitals. In the Healing of the Centurion's Servant, Christ stands under the volute, His body turned toward the figures on one side of the capital, His head toward the centurion on the other (Fig. 31).

This obvious continuity of action is not, as one might suppose, a more primitive stage of representation, a sort of pictographic procession of elements. On the contrary, the rendering of action in these capitals is more subtle and complicated than in the rigorously enclosed static groups. In the latter, the figures usually maintain a single direction in their gestures and bodily movement. When such figures confront each other, they are often completely determined by this relation, whereas in the south gallery a figure points in one direction and looks in another.⁸¹ In conversation he may indicate the subject or reference by an equivocal posture which symbolizes his attention to two objects. The Centurion imploring Christ points at the same time to his servant who lies in bed behind him (Fig. 31); and Christ, as I have already observed, has an analogous complexity of gesture. The whole body is animated by a contrast of movements which in its repeated and uniform application recalls the mannered *contrapposto* of the sixteenth century, as well as the later Romanesque style of Southern France.

That the narrative composition described above is a more complex type than the first, and yet distinct from the simple episodic continuity of the most primitive arts, is confirmed by the pronounced tendency toward asymmetrical composition in the capitals of the south gallery. The symmetrical elements of such scenes as the Angel appearing to John (Fig. 37) are hardly so explicit as in the capitals of martyrdom. Even in themes inherently accessible to symmetrical design the sculptor has willfully diverted certain elements to create a more active and intricate balance than was ordinarily attained in the cloister.

On the capital of the Four Symbols of the Evangelists (Fig. 30) the human figure lends himself readily to a central position under the console block. The head is inscribed in the usual triangle between the volutes, and the disproportionately great wings are extended to fill the surface. The opened book in his hands is placed on the very center of his torso, marking the axis of the body. But the garment of the lower body is blown by the wind and

81. Note, however, the contrast of gesture and head

in the figures before the king in the capital of the martyrdom of St. Saturninus (Fig. 61) in the east gallery.

extends unequally across his legs, so that the right contour has a marked triangular salience, while the left is an unbroken line. This disturbance of the equality of two parts similar in function and shape in a scheme otherwise rigidly symmetrical has an obvious motivation. On another side of the same capital (Fig. 29) the eagle is carved in profile rather than in the heraldic frontality we might expect. This is one of the finest conceptions in Romanesque art; it is at the same time monumentally grand and delicate. The nimbed head set under the console is turned away from the direction of the body, between great wings of undulating contour that carry the curve of head and neck across the capital to the spiral volutes. The body forms a graceful reversed S, covered by fine imbrications in very low relief. The feathers of wings and body are rendered by different scale, tongue, curved-dart, and banded patterns. The right leg has been mutilated, but it is clear from the fragments that the powerful mass of the tail at the left was balanced by the two unequal legs. To this relief the impost ornament is especially adapted. The upper band of palmettes in low relief (the only palmette-ornamented upper impost band in the cloister) is carved like the ornamental wings and other feathery surfaces of the eagle, while the lower group of symmetrically adossed lions with knotted tails above the eagle's head has a plastic energy and movement completely in accord with the symbolic bird. They parallel beautifully the outstretched wings.

Of all the sculptors of the cloister the master of the south gallery capitals (Figs. 26-42) was the boldest in his groupings and undertook the most difficult problems. He, more than any of the others, sought asymmetry even where the subject provided a simpler arrangement, and took the greatest delight in elaborating the draperies of a figure to enrich its surface, its contours, and movement.⁸² In the scene of Peter before Herod (Fig. 41) the latter is so majestically enthroned, and so complexly articulated that in the composition he occupies half the field, and two standing figures are required to balance his larger mass. The extended arms and legs form a strong scaffolding, in which the flying folds at the ankle play a great part. The arc of the rich, beaded rosette medallion which serves as a throne repeats the arch behind his head—a fragment of architecture that symbolizes a whole interior—and is further echoed in the central festooning between the volute bands and the nimbus of Peter. The design is of several relief surfaces, for behind the high relief of the body are the less salient flat surfaces of these accessories and of draperies, like the hanging mantle with radiating folds under Herod's left arm.

The archaic characteristics of the design isolated in this description cannot be said to arise from the necessity of reproducing complicated natural forms with an inadequate technique or a limited knowledge of the forms. For the purely ornamental capitals show similar conceptions even in conventional details not borrowed directly from nature. The foliate capitals of Corinthian type are subdivided into blocks of salient leaves; but on each

82. When this master of the south gallery reversed an inscription in the capital of David and the Musicians, it was not designed to produce the simple decorative symmetry of the archaic capitals of the cloister, but a more intricate opposition. For words in the normal direction are placed directly underneath the reversed names. Thus in the inscription *ASAPH CVM LIRA*, the first two words are incised from right to left, the third from left to right immediately below. In the inscription *EMAN CVM*

ROTA, *EMan* is reversed and the following words written below in the normal order. Is the reversal in this instance possibly influenced by the wish to imitate the direction of Hebrew letters? It is unlikely, even though the iconography of this capital is based on the preface to the psalter. In a Latin manuscript of the same period, a miniaturist of Moissac reproduced a Hebrew inscription on the scroll of Jeremiah (Bibl. Nat. latin 1822).



FIG. 53—*The Washing of Feet—Apostles (25)*



FIG. 54—*Lazarus and Dives (27)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of East Gallery



FIG. 55—*Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom* (27)



FIG. 56—*Marriage at Cana* (30)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of East Gallery

of these blocks are cut separate leaves in detachment from each other, and without organic correspondence to the main salient mass. What in the classic prototype was a large curled leaf is in Moissac an assembly of several leaves each distinguished from its neighbor. In the classic capital the adjoining leaves overlapped so that the whole wrapping of foliage was luxuriant and free; but in Moissac the masses are isolated, their forms distinct, and the ornamental geometrical structure more obvious. The single lobes of a leaf have the same relation to the leaf that the latter has to the salient mass, and this mass to the whole capital. The ornament is not free, sporadic, natural, but rigorously organized with an apparent structure that dominates every turn and interval.⁸³ Nowhere in Moissac is the Roman Corinthian capital reproduced as faithfully as in Burgundy and Provence.

The decorative character of the figured compositions has been overlooked by French scholars who have conceded it in plant and animal capitals, where it is obvious. There the absence of iconographic significance, the traditional employment of such *motifs* as ornament and the unmistakable simplicity of their orderly schemes provoked an instant recognition of the underlying decorative conception. But the similar, though more complex, design of the figures has not been understood because the unreality of the groupings and the constant distortion are opposed to the methods of more realistic arts, and are judged as the products of inexperience and *naïveté*. Yet the rare figures mingled with some of the animals, and the few animal groups on the historiated capitals should alone have pointed to the fundamental unity of both narrative and decorative art. Monsieur Deschamps, who has studied the cloister *in situ* nevertheless writes: "*c'est seulement aux frises stylisées, aux motifs purement décoratifs dont la composition se répète et demande moins d'invention, que nos sculpteurs ont su donner une réelle beauté. Mais quand il s'agit de composer, de grouper une scène autour de la corbeille d'un chapiteau, comme alors on voit leur inexpérience!*"⁸⁴

In the constant coördination of gestures, movement, and contours with the volute bands of the capital and the triangle carved at their junction under the center console we see again how the abstract design is a primary consideration. For these are elements foreign to reality, survivals of the Corinthian capital which has been cleared of its foliage to make place for narrative figures; it is significant for the style of the capitals that this upper frame is a zigzag, symmetrical structure. In more realistic Romanesque and Gothic works, in which geometrical design is less rigorously pursued, the figures are not coördinated with such accessories (but are often embraced by a far more irregular frame). On the figured capitals of the porch of Moissac there are no volutes, consoles, or triangular central borders.

* * *

Having observed the abstract character of the design of these capitals, in which all figures and accessories are contrived in simple rhythmical forms, sometimes approaching the schematic patterning of pure ornament, we are not surprised that the backgrounds are neutral, and that the sacred stories are narrated in terms of actors in no particular space or environment, like primitive pictographic writing. Locality is indicated only when it is an essential element of the legend, traditionally cited, or an accessory that gives meaning to

83. In the density of the whole, in the multiplication of small contrasting elements and the movement of diagonal lines and surfaces, this foliate capital illustrates also the specific Romanesque character analyzed in the pier reliefs; it is evident in the historiated capitals, if only in the con-

ception of the inverted pyramidal field of the capital as a surface for narrative illustration, and in the accenting of diagonal forms.

84. *Bulletin Archéologique*, Paris, 1923, p. 247.

figures otherwise undistinguished. The gate of Paradise is thus introduced (Fig. 49), the city of Bethlehem set between the Adoration of the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents, and Jerusalem represented in the scene of the Crusaders (Fig. 80). But these cities are not a common background, against which the figures are placed. They do not cover the drum of the capital as their size would demand. They are separate items of narrative as small as the figures, or only a little larger, and are represented by parts of buildings or a city—a tower or house or wall—abstracted to symbolize a greater whole.

Interiors are hardly conceived by the artist. For an interior implies the demarcation of an enwalled hollow that effaces the neutrality of the background and introduces an extended third dimension. The sculptors of the cloister think in terms of separately aligned solid objects united by a common narrative context and an ornamental design rather than by their visual coincidence in a common space in nature. In banquet scenes, like the Feast of Herod (Fig. 21) and the Marriage at Cana (Fig. 56), and in the group of Dives and Lazarus (Fig. 54), there is no definition of the limits of an action which must have taken place within a house. The only indication of an interior space is an arched frame or a horizontal banding present in several capitals behind some of the figures. It appears in the Banquet of Herod, the Annunciation (Figs. 68, 69) and the Miracle of Cana (Fig. 57), but hardly suggests a clear space or locality.⁸⁵

This spacelessness of the narrative scenes is even more radical than one would suppose from a first glance at the capitals. For the figures are often lively, well articulated, and abound in natural details, and seduce us into a belief in the reality of their whole setting and interrelation. But we observe soon that if they are set against no interior or exterior wall, even a ground is absent, and finally that the conception of a clear horizontal plane is foreign to the early sculptors of Moissac.

The figures do not usually stand upon a ground plane perpendicular to themselves. The feet are carved upon the same vertical surface of the drum as the rest of the body, so that the figures appear suspended. Only rarely is the projecting astragal utilized as a ground plane; and when this is done, as in the Marriage of Cana, it is not on the upper horizontal side of the astragal that the feet are placed, but on its vertical surface, so that the feet are still presented as hanging.⁸⁶

This lack of horizontal planes is also evident in the representation of chairs and tables. In the banquet scenes (Figs. 21, 54, 56) the upper surface of a table is parallel to the background and the figures, and yet dishes and food are carved resting upon it. This incredible projection of horizontal surfaces upon a vertical plane is consistently applied; even the seats and cushions are erected behind figures rather than beneath them (Virgin, in the Adoration of Magi (Fig. 58), Daniel (Figs. 78, 87), Abraham and Lazarus (Fig. 55)).⁸⁷

85. A more complex banding occurs in the south gallery in the Vision of John (Fig. 37).

86. There are exceptions, even in the very archaic capitals, like the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 58). It is characteristic of such figures that their stance is very light, and that their feet are parallel, not normal to the background (Figs. 61, 90).

In the capital of Adam and Eve (Fig. 48) Adam and the Lord stand on little sloping pedestals, remnants of a private ground or hillock from late classical and early

mediaeval art. They are the clearest indication of the absence of a general concept or abstraction of a common ground in these sculptures.

87. In the Washing of Feet (Fig. 53, extreme left, east face) no seats at all are represented behind the seated figures. The application of the vertical projection described above to human figures may be seen in the capitals of Lazarus and Dives (Fig. 54), St. Lawrence (Fig. 51), and Benedict (Fig. 71) in representations of recumbent bodies.



FIG. 57—*Miracle of Cana (30)*



FIG. 58—*Adoration of the Magi (32)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of East Gallery



FIG. 59—*Journey of the Magi from Jerusalem; Herod Orders
the Massacre of the Innocents (32)*



FIG. 60—*Massacre of the Innocents (32)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of East Gallery

Where the sculptor wishes to indicate that two figures are situated in depth one behind the other, he superposes them, or at least some of their limbs. In the Raising of Lazarus the arbitrariness attains the character of old Oriental zoned perspective. The two women who kneel before Christ (Fig. 88, right) are placed one above the other, and the upper seems to float in air.⁸⁸ Likewise, in the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 86) three animals are superposed, without overlapping, in an unlikely fashion. In the capital of the Magi the foreparts of three horses emerge from the central tower which an inscription tells us is Jerusalem. The tower is so small that it could not possibly contain the concealed parts of the animals. They are set one above the other; the most distant is the highest, and his legs are suspended in the middle of the capital on no perceivable ground.

The figures, as jointed bodies, capable of movement in three dimensions, are subject to the same deformations. The horizontal plane formed by the lap and legs of a seated person is circumvented by the extension of the legs in profile (Abraham and Lazarus (Fig. 55), Daniel (Fig. 78), Apostles in the Washing of the Feet, etc.). In the frontally seated group of the Virgin and Child of the Adoration (Fig. 58), this character is especially evident. The seat of the Virgin, as well as the cushion, is a vertical plane; the Child is applied parallel to the lower body of the Virgin, whose legs do not project to provide a seat for Him, while His own legs have as little salience. Sometimes, as in the banquet scenes, a table conceals the supposedly extended legs of the seated figures (Figs. 21, 56). The rear leg of Herod, who is seated partly in profile, is carved above the front one, instead of behind it, repeating thus the superposition of the horses on the same capital (Fig. 59).

The gestures of hands are likewise drawn parallel to the surface of the capital rather than perpendicular or diagonal to it. The limbs are pressed close to the wall or to the body; and in this uniform striving for clarity in the itemized representation of separate parts, the profiles of extended limbs are preferred to less generalized views. Hence we find that while the feet in some capitals hang vertically, in others a standing figure has both feet in strict profile and parted at a straight angle to each other (Virgin of Annunciation (Fig. 69)). The vertical feet permit a view of their total unforeshortened form. But this is possible even in profile. Adam before the reproachful Lord stands thus, with feet in profile, and yet with their entire upper surface clearly visible, as if the soles were planted on the wall itself (Fig. 48). The hands, too, as in the pier reliefs, are limited to those gestures which least obscure their general form. They are usually carved flat upon their background, with little or no foreshortening.

It would be wrong to suppose that all conception of extension in depth is lacking. There is no enclosed space, no defined contrast of ground, foreground, and background, and no movements in depth as free as those on the vertical pictorial surface. But by distinctions of relief, the modeling of bodies, and the occasional overlapping of parts, limited effects of three dimensional space are produced.

Because of the very salience of the figures from the background, and the uniform projection of the astragal as a ledge around the surface, a narrow stage is created for the action. The overhanging console and impost suggest the same depth above. The relatively high relief of the figures—for they are very small and quite salient—admits a contrast of

88. In the capitals of the three Marys at the tomb in

Issoire, the three soldiers are similarly superposed, but in alternating directions.

light and dark and a differentiation of several surfaces on the capital. The figure is enclosed by shells of drapery which constitute distinct surfaces; in places they are extended across the background and suggest planes intermediate between the figure and the wall. On several capitals of the south gallery such folds are complicated by pleats and undercutting, and the interval between the foreground plane and the wall is bridged by numerous surfaces. The latter are usually parallel to each other, but in some cases, as in the seated figure of Daniel in the north gallery (Fig. 78), they are contrasted in section—concaves opposed to convexities—with the suggestion of a more considerable space. There are even a few figures in part detached from the background, as if there were a space behind them, but these are exceptional (Fig. 91). They remain significant, however, as a variation, more common in succeeding art.

Another source of spatial suggestion is the overlapping of figures and objects. Such encroachment of parts may be seen in the capital of the Miracle of St. Benedict (Fig. 71); figures stand behind rather than beside the recumbent person. In the Liberation of Peter (Fig. 42) and in other capitals of the south gallery such overlapping is especially prominent, and is not merely an unavoidable consequence of the theme or the restriction of surface, but seems to be a predilection of an artist with more complex style than the others. In the Miracle of Peter, on a capital of the north gallery (Fig. 73), by a sculptor of especially refined style, the Beautiful Gate of Jerusalem is represented behind the figure of the lame man, as an actual background. This implies a spatial conception of relief more complex than in the other capitals. But this innovation is itself archaic, for the building is parallel to the figure and the surface of the capital, while the relation of figure and architecture is not confirmed by a ground plane common to the two. Here again we find an anticipation of later styles, associated with precocious lettering and a more complex asymmetrical composition than appears on the other capitals of the cloister.

There occur also occasional movements perpendicular or diagonal to the background, especially in the south gallery. The arms of Christ in the Temptation (Fig. 32), of the symbol of Matthew (Fig. 30), and of the figure of Asaph in the capital of David's Musicians are more boldly foreshortened. On a capital engaged to the northeast pier—of St. Michael slaying the dragon—a central orant figure stands with left leg flexed in a manner unusual in the cloister (Fig. 70). It reminds us of the relaxed legs of classical statues. The effectiveness of such movements is limited since they are so rare and isolated; there are no accessories to prolong them or fix the spatial relations more precisely.

Sometimes a figure is so related to architecture that we infer unseen spaces. On the capital of the Magi (Fig. 59) the three horses emerge from a tower. An innkeeper stands in a doorway in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Fig. 34). The apocalyptic monster, Goliath (Fig. 28), issues from a building, so high in relief that the doorway is carved in the thickness of the building, i. e., on a plane perpendicular to the background.

But a linear perspective is unknown. There is no attempt to create a depth more extensive than the actual thickness of the relief; and if the narrow lair of the monster Goliath is rendered in depth, it is by means of an approximation to sculpture in the round rather than by foreshortening or atmospheric devices. The treatment of architecture, which is so abundantly represented on the capitals of this cloister that a treatise on Romanesque construction might be deduced from them, illustrates this clearly. When whole buildings are introduced they are placed beside the figures rather than behind them. Houses and



FIG. 61—*Martyrdom of St. Saturninus—the Accusation of the Saint* (35)



FIG. 62—*St. Saturninus Dragged by the Bull* (35)
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of East Gallery



FIG. 63—The Soul of St. Saturninus in Glory (35)



FIG. 64—Martyrdom of the Three Spanish Saints—the Prefect Emilianus (37)

Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of East Gallery

figures are of about the same height, and are usually set on the same plane in equal salience (Figs. 62, 71, 80, etc.).

Only one broad face of a building is shown in its entirety, and is parallel to the background plane. Plunging or angular viewpoints are avoided; but by a curious contradiction, which is, however, fundamental to this art, the roof is as visible to us as the lower doorways. The buildings—religious, domestic and civil—are minutely observed and detailed. The profiles of arch moldings and the structure of masonry, and even the small parts of door bolts, are rendered. But the more evident plan is usually distorted to elude foreshortening and broad planes perpendicular to each other. Such surfaces are set at an angle approaching 180 degrees, as in the drawings of children, primitives, and untrained modern men who indicate the adjoining sides of a building as if on one plane.⁸⁹ And as in such drawings, we may observe in the representation of Jerusalem (Fig. 80) and of Cana (Fig. 56) three sides of a rectangular structure at the same time. It is this deformation that gives the plans of these buildings the appearance of a polygon. The sculptor wished to present as many sides as possible, but to retain the angularity proper to them.

The upper stories or towers are often set back as if in actual space, but hardly in effective proportion to the real recession of such members. In the treatment of such details and of the sides of these buildings we can grasp the conceptual character of the space world of these capitals. The buildings are simply façades, elevations drawn in exceedingly low relief. The sides are narrow walls which disappear into the background of the capital without foreshortening or indication of the actual depth of the structure. The building appears to be a wall applied to the surface or emerging from the impenetrable interior of the capital.

The high relief convinces us only of the projection of figures attached to the wall, but not of their detachment from the surface of the capital or their penetration into it. Relief and background are not entirely distinct. The latter cannot be considered a wall before which the figures move (although this is already intimated in a few capitals of the south gallery), because the movements are strictly parallel to the background, as if they were bound to it in some way. The apparent indefiniteness of the space arises from the lack of horizontal planes and a clear ground. We cannot identify it with either the restricted but definite platform of Gothic reliefs and paintings, or the unlimited but undifferentiated space of expressive, religious import in Early Christian and Byzantine art. Since the background is simply the surface of the object on which the figures are represented, and is not itself a representation, it has no symbolic value, like the uniform gold or blue background of figures in a mosaic. It is genuinely neutral, as in the early Greek reliefs, which combine a similar architectonic-decorative parallelism of surfaces with a design of analogous simplicity and a related manner of conceiving forms part by part in their most general aspect.

The material character of this background is evidenced in its broken upper surface of volutes, consoles, and central triangles. These are parts of the object decorated (the capital), rather than represented spatial elements. The fact that they enter irrevocably into the design does not alter this character, since the design is decorative and includes the surfaces and shapes of the decorated object.

89. This is especially clear in the representation of the

innkeeper in the doorway in the capital of the Good Samaritan (Fig. 34).

But this succession of surfaces between the impost and astragal itself constitutes a spatial element. The console emerges from a greater depth than the volutes, and is frequently carved in several planes, including surfaces at an angle to the capital. The volute bands are molded in two planes, while the triangle between them is sometimes modeled. Hence the head of Nebuchadnezzar (Fig. 23), under the console, seems to advance from a remoter space. It is placed in front of three overlapping surfaces, one of which—the console—is subdivided into two angular planes, and projects from a deeper wall. The figure, because of the relief and the considerable succession of parts, like the arms, sleeves, body, cushion, and seat, appears to be seated before a wall, rather than in a wall. The diagonal surface of the console also suggests a freer spatial character in the whole.⁹⁰ The spatial element here is not simply a representation, but a decorative contrivance, and is significant for the later elaboration of the frame as a spatial construction. But the indentation of the upper parts of the capitals by the volutes and consoles is essentially opposed to spatial design; for the latter presupposes in an early art a clear and consistent delimitation of the receptacle of the figures, whereas on these capitals the field of representation is irregular and includes several planes wherever the figures cross the volutes or the consoles. Such frames are not inconsistent, on the other hand, with a restless, unspatial art, since the representation is coördinated in its lines and masses with frequently trespassed irregular boundaries, independent of nature or the subject.

Thus the total effect of these modeled, massive figures and accessories remains that of an arbitrary assemblage of separate symbols which to a great degree accord in appearance with their specific reference. But a more extensive activity in space and varied bodily movement are denied them. They are like the shadows cast on a wall, or the repeated units of an ornamental frieze. Although they represent incidents of which the actors and accessories are drawn from a real world, it is another logic of space and movement which governs them.

These characteristics of the space and perspective of the Moissac cloister are interesting not only in themselves and because of their necessary connection with certain aesthetic results, but also because some of them appear in other civilizations and times remote from eleventh century Languedoc, and precede the development of three-dimensional representation of more recent arts. The approach to an imaginative space in art as extended as that of our actual world was a very slow process, without the sudden propulsion that might result from the intrusion in imagination of our every-day, long formulated awareness of how remote objects differ from near and how a varying sunlight obliterates conceived forms. The artistic conception involves a positive process which represents objects to suit a traditional style and an immediate decorative end. It is from the elements already represented that a constructed space will begin to emerge in the next generation of Languedoc sculptors. There will be no radical revision of the style to accommodate a newly apprehended concept; but the overlapping, modeling, and primitive perspective will yield a slightly more plausible penetration of depth, as proportions become less arbitrary, and the movement and modeling of figures involve a clearer definition of ground, foreground, and background.

90. A related succession of surfaces, with a similar

archaic parallelism, appears in the Chaining of the Dragon (Fig. 27).



FIG. 65—*The Three Spanish Saints, Augurius, Fructuosus, and Eulogius (37)*



FIG. 66—*The Three Spanish Saints in Flames (37)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of East Gallery



FIG. 67—*The Souls of the Three Spanish Saints in Glory* (37)
Moissac, Cloister: *Capitals of East Gallery*



FIG. 68—*The Visitation* (38)
Moissac, Cloister: *Capitals of East Gallery*

It is significant that in this group of capitals, executed in a brief period, the spatial characters described are not uniform, and exhibit small variations which anticipate subsequent art, just as do the details of representation in the cloister piers. This throws light not only on the history of forms but on their character as well, for we learn from this fact that the forms or processes were not absolutely stable. The diversity may indicate the coöperation of artists of different ages, but there is presupposed, in that case, a developing style. Even in the same capital, however, we can observe the primitive vertical projection of members and a more modern procedure. The innovations do not imply a consistent revision of the whole style.

THE FIGURES OF THE CLOISTER CAPITALS

In an earlier chapter were described the figures of apostles placed singly on large, flat surfaces. Then we turned to smaller sculptures in which the forms of groupings were considered. Now we may ask: Are the separate figures of the capitals similar to those of the piers? To what extent are they modified by the smaller scale, a different material, and another technique of cutting? How are they influenced by the narrative content of the capitals? Is a greater variety of forms visible in the more numerous capitals, and is this variety indicative of a development in time or of the presence of several sculptors of differing skill or tradition?

On some capitals there are figures which in posture and in the design of their garments are almost precise replicas of the apostles on the adjacent piers. Such is the angel who stands at the left of the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 84). St. Michael in the north gallery and a figure of St. John on the nearby capital, representing a miracle of Peter, also recall the apostles (Fig. 73). The diagonal line of the mantle, extending from the ankle to the waist, is as common on the capitals as on the piers. As on the latter, concentric folds, incised and doubled, issue from this diagonal line. On the capital may also be seen the contrast of the uncovered side of the tunic, with its vertical leg folds, and the broad striated surface of the mantle. The peculiar curved incision at the exposed knee, the little patterned break of the lower horizontal edge, the sling-like enclosure of the arm in imitation of classic art, and the parallel torso folds, all these occur on the capitals.⁹¹

But because of the smaller size of the figures, an equal delicacy was not so readily obtainable. The same interval between two grooves seems clumsy on the capitals, refined on the larger piers. The common details, especially of folds and features, appear much more prominent in the smaller works. This is not due to a difference of skill, but to the nature of the tools and surfaces. In Chartres, also, the transference of the forms of the jamb figures on the west portal to the capitals above them, produced a similar change.

The same depth of relief cutting on the piers and on the capitals is clearly of different significance because of the size of the figures. The salience of two or three inches of a figure only eight to twelve inches high is massive and suggests an almost total emergence from the wall; but of one of the apostles, almost five feet tall, it suggests flat sculpture, if not drawing. The difference is especially evident in the treatment of the head. Even when turned in profile, the head on the capital is rendered in its full mass, like sculpture in the round; when

91. Several figures in the east gallery hold up the edges of their tunics or mantles like Bartholomew (Figs. 48, 53).

In the Washing of Feet (Fig. 53) James has the melon cap of the apostle John on the northeast pier (Fig. 8).

regarded from the side, it presents a full face to the spectator. But for the actual modeling of the head, the relatively higher relief is of less consequence. These smaller figures do not manifest a more developed study of the head structure than do the figures on the piers.⁹² On the contrary, as we should expect, the delicate flow of facial surface and the elaborate features, possible on the larger heads of the apostles, are simplified on most of the capitals.

It is only on some capitals of the south gallery (Figs. 26-42) that the smaller scale does not result in a rougher reproduction of the details of the apostles. The folds are as delicate as on the latter, and in so far as a greater variety of forms appears in them, it may be said that in these capitals, the work is even more refined than on the piers. The chiseling of the ordinary stone produces here transitions and undercutting not attempted on the larger marble slabs of the piers. The coincidence of this novel technique with a more complex design and space and with forms prophetic of later Romanesque styles indicates that not materials or tools alone can account for the difference from the other works of the cloister, but that an artist, influenced by other traditions, more "modern" in his time, and more ambitious, was here at work.

On the other hand, in some capitals, like the Washing of Feet (Figs. 52, 53), the forms of the pier reliefs are immobilized, simplified and thickened even more than on the capitals first discussed. The capital itself is more massive, broader at the base, than the others. The eyes of the figures bulge enormously; their hands and feet are immense; the few lines of drapery seem to swathe the figures, which are exceedingly squat. The apostles of this capital are only three heads in height. If the capitals of the south gallery seem the work of an artist other than the master of the pier reliefs because of more highly differentiated forms, this capital seems the work of still another by virtue of its distinct simplicity and more pronounced archaism.

Such squatness appears incredible to us until we recall other primitive arts which present an equally nonhuman canon. Even classic art, which at one time placed so great a value upon height as a mark of strength and dignity, in its last phases reduced its figures to stunted pygmies, utterly removed from human, much more from heroic, proportions. Such are the men carved in the early fourth century on the Arch of Constantine to celebrate the victories of an emperor; such also are the saints and Biblical figures on some Christian sarcophagi.

The shepherds in the west gallery (Fig. 86), the figures on the accompanying capitals that represent the Raising of Lazarus and the Anointing of David (Figs. 88, 89), are not much taller. Even in the capitals carved with greater skill, the head remains unusually large. In the desire to indicate all that is essential to the structure of the head, which already figures so largely in the conception of a man, the sculptor has given it a disproportionate prominence. The torso and legs, covered by draperies, are defined by fewer details. If we regard only the parts of the body below the shoulders of the nude Spanish martyrs (Fig. 67), their proportions will appear normal, though defined by forms most arbitrarily simplified. But if we include the heads, then the figures will appear stunted and deformed.

In the capitals the heads of children and adults are of one size. This is not a gross error of representation, when the proportions of the whole body are considered. For the adults are

92. But in some capitals, portions of the head invisible to the spectator are carved in detail (Nero, Fig. 45).



FIG. 69—*The Annunciation* (38)



FIG. 70—*St. Michael and the Dragon* (39)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals at Corner of North and East Galleries



FIG. 71—*Miracle of St. Benedict (42)*



FIG. 72—*Miracle of St. Benedict—Monk Tempted by Demon (42)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of North Gallery

only three or four heads in height, and the children, two, in the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 60). The heads of women and men are likewise not distinguished in mass, except where a beard gives the male head a greater surface. Their bodies are also of one size. We cannot judge such proportions as absolutes since the iscephalism of primitive relief plays an important rôle in determining proportions. The heads of seated and standing figures are usually on the same level. The seated figures therefore seem more naturalistically proportioned (Fig. 41). Sometimes, possibly in avoidance of the strange proportions of legs and head inevitable in a seated figure whose head is on the same level as those of standing figures, the feet are made to hang like a baby's. But actually, where the narrative implies some subordination in significance or level, the figures are not of equal height. Thus the baptized Christ (Fig. 43) is sunk into the water up to His breast; His head is below John's. The same observation may be made of Isaac in the sacrifice (Fig. 84), of Abel attacked by Cain, and of a diner at Herod's feast (Fig. 21).

These peculiarities of proportion occur also in the capitals of the south gallery, which are in other respects more refined in detail and more natural than the adjoining capitals. The standing figure never attains a height of more than five heads.

Like the apostles of the piers, the figures on the capitals are archaic and are disposed by the artist to yield as clear views as possible of their important parts—head, hands, and feet—despite the consequent distortion. The figures of Adam and the Lord (Fig. 48) are good examples of this archaic conception and are especially worth a closer observation because of their opposed dress and nudity. Both heads have been destroyed. Enough of the necks and the contours of the heads is preserved to assure us that the heads were in profile, facing each other as the narrative demanded. Yet the shoulders of both are strictly frontal as in Egyptian drawing and relief; likewise the torsos, except that in Adam the nudity permits us to see the abdomen, of which the sculptor has wished to suggest the roundness by a curved contour. This distortion of the abdomen of a frontal torso, in order to represent its profile, appears in numerous other figures of the cloister, even in the clothed. If we do not observe it on the Lord it is because the abdomen is covered by His hand.

But once the groin is reached the artist abandons the frontality of his figure, for the legs are best seen in profile. The nudity here betrays a process less evident in the clothed figures. Adam's hand and leaf conceal a junction difficult to realize in a figure so arbitrarily twisted. If his legs are in profile, how can we see both of them unless one is advanced? And, as in Assyrian art, it is the remote leg that is brought forward. To render the right foot behind the left, they are superposed; but the big toe of the lower, left foot overlaps a toe of the right—a naïve version of the concealment of one by the other in our vision of a profile figure in nature. Both feet are laid out on the surface of the capital as if seen from above or planted on a wall.

The Lord's left (rear) leg is also bent so that it may be seen in profile. Both feet are suspended in parallel rather than divergent diagonals, and are exposed in their full unforeshortened mass.

If we examine now the proportioning of the various parts we shall conclude that here, too, is at work a process of abstraction and addition such as has arbitrarily twisted the axes of the body. The hands of Adam are enormous. The open, extended left hand lies across the length of the whole thigh. The closed right fist is longer than the breast. The proportions of head and body have been previously remarked. Here they are confirmed in the

nude figure, in which the drapery, essentially subordinate to our conception of man's body, and in itself undifferentiated in scale by fixed units (as of limbs, torso, etc.), does not conceal from us the sculptor's conception of the whole figure. In simple recollection of the nude body the shoulders are distinct from the breast. The sculptor has therefore given shoulders and breast equal prominence, with great exaggeration of the former, but has not indicated the clavicle. But from breast to foot, the body is proportioned as in the most common type of West European man. Were it not for the hands, the shoulders, and the head, we should not feel an excessive disproportion.

The sculptor's conception is not of a characteristic body contour, but of the shapes of separate limbs and large masses, like the abdomen. These he represents in a simple form which admits no specific muscles or bony structure and no subtle indentations of surface and outline. Although the hands and head are grossly enlarged, the body axis distorted, and the stance of the figure so improbable, care is taken to represent the navel and nipples, which are decorative, symmetrical surface members. The obvious pattern of the ribs could hardly have escaped an artist so devoted to decorative abstraction. They have a skeletal prominence in a body of which the other bones are not even suggested. Following the costal margin as a guide, the sculptor arbitrarily arranged them in a chevron pattern, with the sternum at the apex, in reversal of the true direction. The ascending curve of the ribs toward the back is not observed, perhaps because of the more complex design, and because such an observation implies a foreshortening and attention to planes perpendicular to the main body surface, foreign to this sculptor.

The broad surfaces of the chest and abdomen are flat, or curved gradually without abrupt transitions. Arms and legs are simple rounded members with no apparent articulation at the joints. The meeting of limbs is a simple angle of the contour, a slight break or incision of the surface, precisely as in the jointless hands. In the left leg of Adam the rear profile is suavely curved in recognition of an obvious musculature, which is not otherwise indicated. The surface of a male body is therefore hardly different from that of a female; we must see them clothed in order to distinguish them. The distinction is, in fact, difficult in the scene of the Temptation (Fig. 47). Only the longer hair of the right figure permits us to call it Eve. We see more clearly here the confusion of front and profile of the abdomen, the prominence of the head and hands, the lack of muscular differentiation, the contrast of profile legs and head with the frontal shoulders. The sexless nude souls of Peter and Paul (Fig. 46) in the same gallery are remarkably similar to Adam and Eve.

Not all nude figures are treated in the same manner. The exceptional symmetry and frontal position of Durand, which were attributed to his episcopal and monastic rank and to the commemorative character of the relief, occur in many nude figures on the capitals. Sometimes they are motivated by religious and hieratic meanings, as in the nude soul of the martyred Saturninus, who stands alone in the mandorla on a background of two convergent sets of radial lines (Fig. 63). Were it not for the extremities, the body would have the normal human proportions. It is precisely designed, in perfect symmetry, so that the hands are extended alike, and both sides of the figure are identical in their delicately curved contours. The ribs are patterned, unlike Adams's, in well-observed concentric lines.

On the neighboring capital of the Spanish martyrs, the mandorla is filled by the three nude orant souls (Fig. 67). The limited surface has required the squeezing of the two side figures into narrow corners, the slight turn of their bodies, and the overlapping of the inner

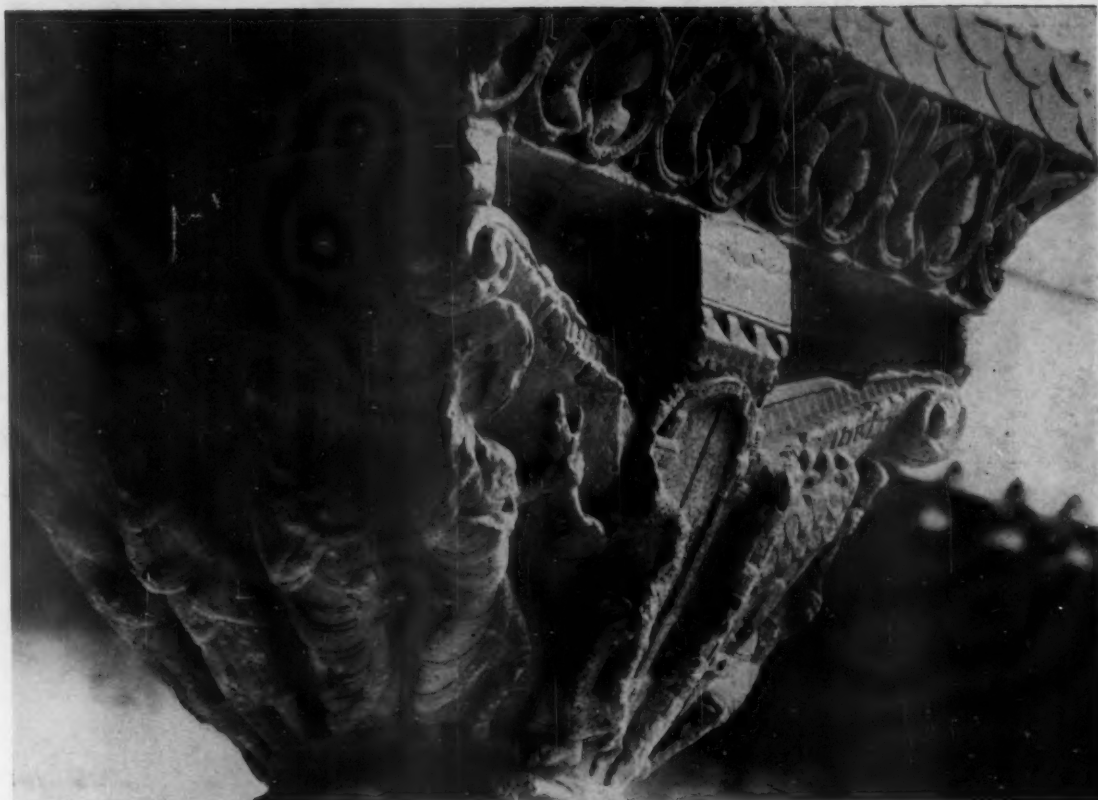


FIG. 73—*Peter Heals the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate (44)*



FIG. 74—*The Angel Gabriel (46)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of North Gallery



FIG. 75—*The Calling of the Apostles—the Apostles Fishing (47)*



FIG. 76—*The Calling of the Apostles (47)*
Moissac, Cloister: Capital of North Gallery

sides of the two martyrs by the central soul. In these soft unmodeled bodies of simple rounded limbs the ribs are coarsely incised, and even the clavicle is rendered by a thick ridge at the base of the neck, converging upon the sternum.

Another symmetrical standing nude appears on an ornamental carving in the west gallery, grasping the wings of two dragons. The *motif* is repeated on all four faces of the capital. Although by the same hand, the figures are not identically proportioned and modeled. The ribs, ridged in one, are faintly incised in another. But all have a common pose and a similar beauty of line and surface.

Besides these figures there are nude demons (Fig. 72), the half-dressed beggar in the capital of St. Martin (Fig. 83), and a partly nude personification of a Beatitude in the west gallery. The profile position of the devil who receives the offering of Cain is unusual in the cloister (Fig. 91)⁹³. It governs the whole figure and not merely the legs and head. The shoulders are perpendicular to the surface of the capital. The outline of the back of the neck and the head are carefully reproduced, while the ribs, in relief, are not the symmetrical structures of the other capitals, but the well-observed forms of the side of the body. Unfortunately, the lower limbs of this demon, that approaches human shape more closely than the human figures of the cloister, are badly mutilated; we cannot, therefore, judge how the sculptor made the transition from human to animal form plausible. Unlike the figure of Adam, the demon has the outer leg advanced, in almost complete detachment from the background. This double departure from archaic methods facilitated its destruction. The undercut and detached outer arms of both Cain and the demon have also been destroyed.

The unusual forms observed in this capital are not isolated details of the style, but elements of an increasing refinement apparent in the technique, proportions, folds, and movements, and even the inscriptions. The wheat offered by Cain is placed on the altar under the console, each blade finely rendered, and the whole forming a column and capital, reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian. In the persistent symmetry of the group, the squatness of the figures, the large heads (but tiny feet), and the common drapery conventions, we see that the exceptional details of this sculpture are not intrusions of another style, but developments from the more archaic forms of the cloister. The demon who tempts Christ in the south gallery (Fig. 32), in a capital which shows forms of drapery genuinely new in the cloister, is more archaic than the demon before Cain. Here, too, the frontality of the upper body persists.

Besides these standing nude figures there are others in less common positions. In the parable of Dives, Lazarus is stretched out horizontally across two sides of the capital, forming an arc of ninety degrees in plan (Fig. 54). He furnishes a remarkable instance of the arbitrary space of the world of these capitals. Though obviously recumbent, he is carved lying on the vertical surface rather than on the astragal only a trifle below him. His body is presented frontally, as if seen directly from above, the whole torso unforeshortened. The upper body is long and slender, the legs almost nonexistent in their shortness. As in the representation of tables in the cloister capitals, the horizontal surface of the recumbent figure has been projected vertically.

* * *

93. The angel who takes the soul of Paul at his martyr-

dom (not reproduced) is also represented in profile. Cf. also the seated Christ washing the feet of Peter (Fig. 52).

In the study of the piers it was observed that the heads of the apostles were unique conceptions, like portraits, although so uniform in their surfaces. In the case of Durand, a Cluniac tradition (that speaks of his jesting nature) has been cited to confirm the accuracy of the equivocal expression of his likeness in the cloister. Yet this is surely the stiffest of the figures, the most schematically constructed and ornamental.

The smaller scale of the capitals hardly admitted such fine distinction of personalities. The head of St. John the Evangelist in the south gallery (Fig. 37) is an exception, and less surprising when the more elaborate detail of other figures in this gallery is considered.

The impassivity of the apostles is an expression proper to their hieratic positions and gestures. But the absence of facial expression in scenes of violence like the Martyrdoms, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Entry of the Crusaders into Jerusalem is especially remarkable. When we recall the contemporary anonymous historian's account of this last event (Fig. 81), in which religious fervor followed an unrestrained brutality that made Tancred weep, and when we remember also the enthusiasm of the convocations, the impassivity of the scene is astonishing. Such "serenity" is not limited to the early art of Greece, but is a common archaic character. The expression of the faces on the capitals is negative rather than impassive. There is a total absence of facial expression beyond the smile of the little demon (?) behind Herod in the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 59). The representation of a momentary feeling is remote from this art, which is concerned with the more durable or general appearance of individual objects.

The expression of the figures is achieved by other means. Either symbolical gestures, movements, and attributes communicate their feelings and characters, or the abstract design of the work, the zigzag or calmer organization of forms, sometimes expresses the quality of an episode or situation. The latter is most evident in the hieratic groups of saints and angels, in which the symmetry and centralized design confer the effect of a ritual moment and a dogmatic finality on the representation. This result is of course not separable from specific attributes like haloes and mandorlas and from gestures that symbolize exaltation or prayer.

On the capital of the Martyrdom of the three Spanish saints, Fructuosus, Augurius, and Eulogius, the composition of each of the four scenes has a distinct expressive character. First they stand in their ecclesiastic robes in ceremonious postures, strictly frontal (Fig. 65); then they appear in the flames, nude and orant, in a beautiful symmetrical design of wavy flames, maintained in their own gestures (Fig. 66). Despite the horrible theme there is no sense of violent conflict of the figures and the fire, but a common upward movement, as of flowers emerging from a thick base of stems and long curved foliage. The adjoining scene of the prefect Emilianus commanding the execution has a more genuinely broken, exciting form, with numerous angles and strong oppositions throughout the field (Fig. 64). The official sits on an X-shaped chair, before a musician with a triangular instrument. The former's garment is divided by folds into several triangles. His arm extends diagonally across the middle of the surface, and ends in a pointing finger. Three leaves curled over the tip of the central triangle of the frame produce a more insistent zigzag above. The contour of the musician provides another zigzag line, which is paralleled in the forms of two men at the left who stir the flames with diagonal rods. To increase this effect of sustained diagonal contrasts the sculptor has broken the volute bands by numerous short diagonal lines, saw-toothed in section. Even the astragal has a prominent pattern of



• FIG. 77—*The Calling of the Apostles—Christ (47)*

Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of North Gallery

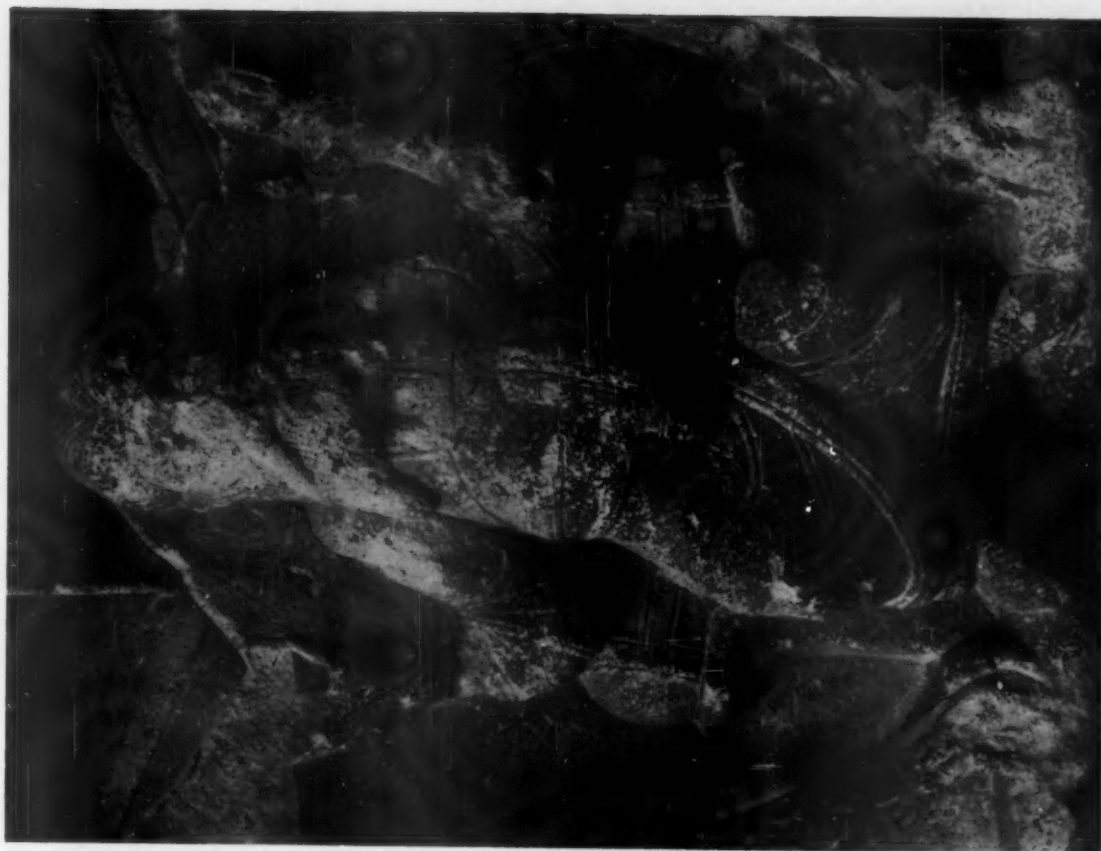


FIG. 78—*Daniel—Detail of Fig. 79 (48)*

Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of North Gallery



FIG. 79—*Daniel in the Lions' Den* (48)



FIG. 80—*The Crusaders—Angel before Jerusalem* (49)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of North Gallery

intersecting diagonal strands. On the fourth side of the capital (Fig. 67), the souls of the three nude martyrs are enclosed in the very middle of the field by a jeweled mandorla, held above by the Hand of God, and at the sides by two angels. By the greater mass of the central figure, by lines concentric with the mandorla incised behind the saints, by the related forms of the angels and their wings, and by the four hands of the saints placed palm outward across the middle of the field, the composition acquires a more definite centrality and seems to focus on the glory of the martyrs.

Such coördination of expressive form and content is not everywhere apparent. It throws some light on Romanesque methods of design and independence of purely material factors, like the shape of a field, and the traditional iconographic data. In no two sides of this capital of the Spanish martyrs do we find identical frames. The upper zigzag is modified to accord with a conception of the whole surface; sometimes the volute bands are striated, sometimes the central triangle is omitted or topped by foliage.

The individual gestures are very few in number and thoroughly conventional. Most frequently, the hand is extended, either pointing, or palm outward, as a symbol of acknowledgment, prayer, surprise, or speech. The orant arms of the three Hebrews and the three Spanish martyrs, we shall see in the iconographic study, are a consciously paralleled symbol of the cross as well as a gesture (and in the Romanesque period, artistic symbol) of prayer. In the figure of Durand, the hand is raised stiffly in an emphatic gesture of speech, which has become the static attribute of his spiritual authority. In some figures the legs are crossed, but the meaning of this posture is not clear (Figs. 53, 64, 76). It is the stance of a possessed figure in a miniature of the late eleventh century from Monte Cassino, but is more frequently found at this time in religious figures. In Romanesque art it is an expressive formal device, an unstable, untectonic posture, with parallels even in architecture, a strained movement and inward tension, which will be analyzed later when we come to the history of these forms and study more explicit and effective examples. In the cloister, it is still a mild convention.

On the more archaic capitals of the cloister each figure is engaged with a single object and refers to only one other figure in his gesture or movement. But in the capitals of the south gallery (and the north) the use of gesture is more complex. The sculptors were too archaic to link the action of figures by the glance of the eye; but in the manipulation of hands and head they achieved a similar connection. I have already observed that in the Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Fig. 31), the centurion (facing Christ, Who stands at the right) extends one hand to the left, pointing to the servant in bed, and addresses Christ by raising the right hand before Him. Christ is turned to the right, away from the supplicating figure, but His head is turned toward him. There is created by these contrasting motions (the bent legs of Christ are an additional element of contrast) a complicated intercourse, in which the double preoccupation of each figure—the centurion's with his servant and with Christ; Christ's with the centurion and the apostles—is adequately expressed.⁹⁴

On the capital of Nebuchadnezzar (Fig. 22) the figure who stands at the right is turned away from the king, though facing him; his opposed arms point in opposite directions.

94. On the same capital an apostle is placed between Christ and the Canaanite woman; the conversation thereby becomes indirect and more complicated. For the

use of a more developed type of gesturing figure in the east gallery, cf. Fig. 61, of the martyrdom of Saturninus. This is one of the most refined capitals in the east gallery.

An analogous complexity may be observed in the king himself, whose arms are contrasted in gesture, the head turned, and even the legs crossed. The double gesture is not merely designed to represent a more complex intercourse or situation, but is an element of a style which promotes contrasts and movement. It constitutes an expressive form as well as an expressive symbol.

DRAPERY

The drapery forms of the capitals include all that were observed on the sculptures of the piers. The diagrammatic incision of radial, concentric, and elliptical folds, the doubled lines, the patterned breaks of the horizontal edges, all appear on the smaller figures. The difference in scale modifies the proportion of the fold to the whole figure, so that on an analogous apostle on a capital, the drapery lines are fewer and the folds considerably thickened. One detail of Romanesque costume unknown on the piers is a commonplace on the figures of the capitals who wear a contemporary dress. This is the vertical slit on the collar of the tunic at the sternum. On the capitals of the south gallery the jeweled ornament, carved on the borders of the garments of Durand and James, becomes an element of style and is applied on angels, kings, and lay figures of lesser rank. The peculiar definition of the folds of the lower abdomen by an ellipsoid or oval figure with an incised horizontal axis, that occurs on several of the apostles on the piers, is often repeated on the smaller figures of the capitals. But on the latter this form is part of a larger system of folds which includes concentric bands drawn across the torso. These bands are less visible on the piers, perhaps because of the mantles which conceal the torso folds of the apostles, or because of the ancient traditional costume worn by the latter.

It is significant of the latent realism of this style that the costume of the figures on the capitals is minutely differentiated and offers a great variety of types. For not only apostles, but all kinds of secular figures—kings, soldiers, executioners, shepherds, musicians, servants, women, and children—and many religious types—saints, angels, martyrs, bishops, prophets, monks, and priests—appear on these sculptures in distinct dress.

In one large group of capitals, including those of the north and west galleries—with the exception of those engaged to the piers and the capital representing the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Figs. 86, 87)—and three western capitals of the south gallery (Nebuchadnezzar, Stephen, and Babylon (Figs. 22-25)), the forms of drapery are precisely those of the pier reliefs, without the addition of elements unknown in the latter. The differences are mainly of scale and costume. Even the figures in movement are governed by the same isolation of folds, clear contours, incised lines, and the limitation of the garment to the actual contours of the figure. The unmodeled clothes cover the figure like a shell. Except for the familiar pentagonal pattern on the lower edge, the outlines are usually simple and unbroken. It is only by exception that a slightly greater prominence is given in a few instances to hanging or flaring folds.

In the capitals of the east gallery and those engaged to the piers, the forms described above persist, but are accompanied by others involving different principles of drapery composition. Thus the simple diagonal of the mantle is broken by zigzag pleats, and the contour of the garment no longer corresponds to the body but is sometimes expanded by flying ends of drapery. On the legs of Nero in the martyrdom of Peter and Paul (Fig. 45), the falling mantle is cascaded in pleats unknown on the piers. In addition to the common

concentric incised groups a chevron system is also employed to organize the folds on the body surface. The horizontal edge of the tunic of the angel who expels Adam and Eve (Fig. 49) is broken by a continuous wave pattern. But these new elements of drapery design are less refined in execution than the more usual forms of the north gallery. More often they are coarser and thicker, heavily ridged or grooved, and associated with figures of squat proportions.

A more striking and pervasive departure from the drapery types of the piers occurs in the ten historiated capitals of the eastern part of the south gallery (Figs. 26-42). They differ from the other capitals in the greater richness of dress, in the complexity of folds, in the breaking of contours by the zigzag and meandering edges of pleats, in the multiplication of overlapping folds, in the free use of flying and blown ends, in the more plastic surfaces of cloth, in the undercutting of the lower edge of the garment, and in the more delicate treatment of those features of the other style which persist in the new. In these capitals we see the conventions of drapery pattern common in the developed Romanesque style of the twelfth century.

The garment is less closely circumscribed on the body. It is not limited to the simple rectangular projection, adorned with radial and concentric lines, but is arbitrarily broken at the edges into lively patterns. A line recalling the Vitruvian scroll or "running dog" terminates the pleats on some figures. It approaches the meander in the reduction of the curves to straight or only slightly curved lines, forming alternately obtuse and acute angles. It is a highly-developed, late archaic form, of which the relation to the far simpler folds of the east gallery will be more clearly grasped if we observe the parallel contrast in early Greek art in the vases of Euphronius and a late black-figured work. The few pleatings of the east gallery form simple zigzag contours, without the complexity of a meander or a scroll. Their surfaces are perfectly flat, just as their terminations are simple curves or unvaried straight lines. The pleating itself is broadly spaced and limited to three or four planes at the most.

The sculptor of the south gallery does not simply abstract from the normal pleating of unarranged folds an effect of parallel or radial banding and a lively scroll contour. The mantle or tunic is blown in various directions to produce such forms outside the boundaries of the body. The mantle of Herod (Fig. 41), hanging from his arm, is extended diagonally across the background and ornamented by a fine pattern of double incised radial lines, a few modeled pleats and a wavy scroll contour. This projection of the mantle is not designed for such effects alone; it serves also to relate two parts of a composition otherwise precariously balanced, and opposes a similar jutting of the mantle of Peter beside it. It suggests a comparison with the similarly extended mantles of the Magi (Fig. 58). The latter are plain, and unbroken by multiplied folds.

The sculptor has yet other devices for enhancing the movements of figures by the lines of their garments. At the left leg of Herod the tunic is blown far behind to form a curious horizontal process, consisting of a thin upper band, an outer polygonal fold, hooded to resemble a dome, a series of small vertical pleats of wavy lower contour, and several concentric sets of incised folds that connect this group with the main body of the garment. The same structure appears on the apocalyptic horseman (Fig. 36), where it is more obviously motivated by the movement of the figure, as in equestrian representations in Greek and Byzantine art. Sometimes a slender end of drapery flies from the back of the

figure; sometimes the parallel pleatings on the body are carved in diagonals contrary to the direction of the other folds, as if blown from behind (Og and Magog—Fig. 28).

Another source of complex linear movement and plastic diversity is the swathing of the figure in great garments, far exceeding the actual body surface. The dress on most of the capitals is more closely fitted than in the south gallery, where the amplitude of clothing produces the richest overlapping. On the apocalyptic angel with the sickle (Fig. 38), the outer garment is so large that it must be tucked under the lower tunic at the waist.

The polygonal pattern of the lower horizontal edge persists in these capitals, but is further developed in outline and in modeling. It tends toward a more broken, yet more distinct contour, and is more plastically rendered. It terminates a fold no longer rigidly vertical, but irregular, curved, blown, and even triangular. In addition it is so employed in groups of three that the horizontal border becomes even more restless. In the Christ of the Transfiguration (Fig. 39) two such folds are directly superposed, like two vertical, symmetrical zigzags united at the top by a horizontal line. This is a more complex form which appears frequently in later Romanesque art.

Even the banded folds of the torso are elaborated. They are not simply doubled by parallel incisions, but in some cases (Healing of the Centurion's servant and the Canaanite girl—Figs. 31, 33) each fold of the torso is accompanied by two such incisions.

It would be a mistake to suppose that in these capitals only the draperies were enriched without a development of other features. Although very primitive forms persist here, their sculptor undertakes more complex compositions than any of his fellows. His surfaces are carved with greater variety. He employs jeweled ornament in a profusion that suggests the later and more monumental tympanum. His buildings are distinguished among all those represented in the cloister by their refined detail and exotic types like the Moorish portal of the Deliverance of Peter. Archivolts, though so tiny in scale, are delicately molded, as in actual structures of the period. The impost blocks of these capitals are the most remarkable in the cloister; for they include rare figure *motifs* drawn from foreign objects, like the dog or wolf-headed men and the putti in scrolls, and plant forms unknown elsewhere in the cloister. Details like the hair and beard, which retain the patterned dispositions of the other capitals and the piers, are more plastically rendered (Fig. 33). In the discussion of design and space the slightly more complex groupings of this master were also noted. If the sculptor of the north gallery in his most developed work employs undercutting and detaches limbs from the background, he never models folds even as slightly as this artist, nor chisels underneath the ends of drapery to lift them from the surface behind.

THE MASTERS OF THE CLOISTER

In the discussion of the pier reliefs it was inquired if there were any evidences of change of style during the course of a long enterprise. It was observed that proportions varied from a squat to a taller canon and that certain refinements of detail visible in some figures were absent from others. But it was impossible to affirm with certainty that these differences marked a growth or development. For they were not coördinated, but sporadic; and the more sophisticated or skilled forms appeared side by side with others of more archaic character. Yet even these variations are significant. They indicate at least one source of new forms in the striving to individualize figures that are identical in decorative function, in architectural position, and in the iconographic program; and another in the



FIG. 81—*The Crusaders* (49)



FIG. 82—*The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace* (53)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of North Gallery



FIG. 83—*St. Martin Dividing his Mantle* (54)



FIG. 84—*Sacrifice of Isaac* (57)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of North and West Galleries

greater skill and assuredness that results from a long enterprise in which the same problem—an almost life-size figure—is undertaken at least ten times.

The figure of Simon (Figs. 13, 14) seemed sufficiently unlike the others to provoke inquiry into the possibility of an independent authorship. His head at first sight appears uglier than the others. His jaw has a pronounced salience; the lips are pursed in a novel manner; while the three-quarters turn of the head is a boldness unparalleled in any of the apostles. Other details confirm the difference. No eyes are so large as Simon's; none but Peter and Paul (Figs. 15, 16) possess a similarly incised iris. In Peter and Paul, the incision is less prominent. The draperies of this exceptional apostle repeat the forms of the others, but in a more insistent and schematic manner. Almost the entire surface of his body is spun with closely grouped concentric and parallel lines. The curves have a uniform waviness less accentuated in the others. The fold of the left knee is thick, prominent, and a little unexpected. Likewise, the lower curve of the abdominal ellipse, common to most of the figures of the cloister, is raised in an unusual relief. Simon is further remarkable as the one apostle who reproduces literally the forms of another. We have only to compare him with the figure of Matthew (Figs. 10, 18) to realize that they are not the works of the same hand. The open inscribed book of Matthew has some significance in the portrait of an evangelist; the inscription reproduces the initials of the opening words of his gospel. But in the representation of Simon such an opened inscribed book departs from the traditional iconography and implies a confusion of types. The script of Simon's text (CANANEUS) is coarser than Matthew's; in accord with the accentuation of the repeated lines of the garment, the ruled lines of the book, omitted in the book of Matthew, are here incised.

A final detail confirms the notion of a separate authorship of the figure of Simon. It is the design of the capitals of his columnar frame. These are unique among all the capitals represented on the pier reliefs in the zigzag line connecting the volutes, as on the historiated capitals of the cloister. They are further unique in that the two capitals are unlike and that their ornament includes *motifs* found on none of the other piers. One is a central palmette flanked by large acanthus leaves which emerge from its lower lobes. This ornament appears on imposts of the cloister as well as on a capital of the east gallery.

The relief of Simon is not very distinct from the others. The differences are perceptible in small details and in that general effect of a whole figure, which is difficult to define except by minute comparisons. Simon is more restless than his fellows. He is not firmly planted on the ground but is weighted on the toes. The symmetrical bending of the knees contributes to this effect of impermanence and expectancy in his position.

In the capitals of the cloister a broad distinction of styles has already been indicated in the contrast of the drapery forms, as well as in the differences in design and representation, but a precise grouping of all the sculptures of the cloister is difficult to make because of the variations within any isolated set and the distinct character produced in certain iconographic themes. In so far as the work lasted a considerable time, the development of the style and a possible mutual influence of the sculptors upon each other might account for the variety observed.

In the south gallery, however, the ten eastern capitals (Figs. 26-42) form a homogeneous group with peculiarities of drapery form, technique, ornament, and design that appear in no other capitals. This was apparent throughout the discussion of the style of the cloister

sculptures. The master of these capitals is not the author of the pier reliefs, for although the conventions of the latter are still employed by him, his own unusual forms are unknown on the piers. What capitals were carved by the pier master is not certain because all the remaining capitals reproduce his forms. But they do this with varying skill and artistic result, so that several hands may be inferred. I believe that it is in the unengaged capitals of the north gallery (Figs. 71-83) and in a few of the west and south that may be identified the works of the pier master. Those of the west are the Angels bearing the Cross (Fig. 85), the Beatitudes (Fig. 90), the Ascension of Alexander, Cain and Abel (Fig. 91); of the south, Nebuchadnezzar (Figs. 22, 23), Babylon, and the Martyrdom of Stephen (Figs. 24, 25). With these may be included most of the adjoining capitals with animal, plant, and figure ornament.

In the capitals listed may be observed all the details of the piers rendered with identical precision, though of a different scale. Especially in the north gallery, a figure like the Christ calling the Apostles (Fig. 77) is evidently of the same artistic family as the apostles on the piers. The fine surface finish of these capitals also distinguishes them from the closely related capitals engaged to the piers, and the capitals of the east gallery. In the capitals of the pier master little or no addition is made to the repertoire of drapery conventions used on the piers, beyond the banding of the torso, and those elements which pertain to contemporary dress. His themes are broadly spaced and clear, the movements of the figures restrained, their bodies more rounded, and the details more sharply cut than those of the capitals engaged to the piers, or in the east gallery. A comparison of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace (Fig. 82) with the analogous Spanish saints in the east gallery (Fig. 66), and of Daniel between the lions in the north Gallery (Fig. 78) with the more archaic Daniel by another master in the west (Fig. 87), will establish these characteristics of the master. They are reflected in the inscriptions, which are placed in the horizontal bands of the impost, or if cut within the capital itself, are more clearly and regularly aligned than in the east gallery. On the capital of Martin dividing his cloak an inscription is incised on the sword (Fig. 83). But there are at least two, if not more, alphabets on the capitals of this group (Figs. 71-83). The inscriptions were added by different hands; or the single sculptor possessed the versatility and habit of scribes who in the books of the period composed titles and headings in several manners.⁹⁵ The resemblance of the figures in the capital of the three Hebrews to those in the capitals of Benedict and Martin is so great that the remarkable difference in their inscriptions cannot be a criterion of different authorship of the capitals.

Two capitals in the west gallery—of the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 88) and the Anointing of David (Fig. 89)—might be early works of the pier master. They are somewhat cruder in finish and simpler in design than the capitals of the north gallery, but have very similar shapes. They point also to the capitals engaged to the piers (Figs. 43, 44) which, although by one hand, present a variety indicative of a developing style.

Related to the engaged capitals are those of the east gallery (Figs. 45-67) and the Shepherds in the south (Figs. 86, 87), which present a distinct epigraphic style, with larger, more angular letters than the south or north capitals. But the Shepherds and some sculptures

95. The inscription of the impost of Nebuchadnezzar

(Fig. 22) includes the crossed and enclosed letters of the inscription of 1100 (Fig. 3).

in the east gallery, like the Washing of Feet (Figs. 52, 53), Lazarus and Dives (Figs. 54, 55), Cana (Figs. 56, 57), the Magi (Figs. 58, 59, 60), and the three Spanish saints (Figs. 64-67), are so much more archaic in the canon of the figure, the large head and squat body, the compact compositions, the heavy folds, and extremely schematic forms, that it must be asked if they are not the works of a fourth hand. Similar figures coexist with the more usual type in engaged capitals (Baptism—Fig. 43). Even in the works of the pier master and the south gallery may be seen a similar range in proportions and style of drapery. The more archaic works may be earlier carvings of the same sculptor as the other capitals of the east gallery and the engaged columns. One fact, however, seems to point to a distinct authorship of this more archaic group. The inscriptions are not uniformly distributed but strewn in diagonals and verticals on the surface of the capital between the figures. The eight engaged capitals are uninscribed except for the SAMSON which is placed, not on the field of sculpture, but on the console above it. The diagonal decomposed inscriptions occur on the Shepherds, the Martyrdom of the Three Spanish Saints, and Peter and Paul (Fig. 45), as well as on the five capitals listed above. The figure of the king in the Martyrdom of Saturninus (Fig. 61) appears to be by the same hand as Herod in the Massacre (Fig. 59) and Emilianus in the three Spanish Saints (Fig. 64), but also Saul in the engaged capital of David and Goliath. Within this large group of the eastern gallery and the engaged capitals there is a stylistic range that may be due to my confusion of two or even three different hands. I am still uncertain whether the pier capitals are to be grouped with those of the east gallery, or whether the Adam and Eve (Figs. 47-49) and the Martyrdom of Lawrence (Figs. 50, 51) belong with the others. The identity of the nude figures of Adam and Eve with the nude souls of Peter and Paul points to a common authorship. But other details of these two capitals are less similar.

The capitals engaged to the piers might be considered the works of the pier master, were it not that the forms used by the sculptor of the north and west galleries are even closer to those of the apostles, and that common novelties like the lifted mantle of the high priest in the Miracle of Peter and a figure at the Feast of Herod (Fig. 21), are more neatly and skillfully rendered in the first than in the second. Besides, in the pier capitals occur several details of drapery, chevron incisions, zigzag ends, flying folds, of a heavy flattened character unknown in either the pier reliefs or the capitals of the north gallery, and far less developed than in the south.

The intrusion in the west gallery of a capital like the Shepherds may be explained in the light of two of its peculiarities. It is of greater width, by four centimeters, than any other capital of this gallery. It received not only the weight of the gallery arches but also of the bay of the lavatorium arcade which began at this point, and has left traces of its haunch and spring above the impost of this capital. Hence it may be supposed that this capital pertains to another moment in the architectural enterprise, being either a slightly earlier reemployed capital, or the work of a hand specially introduced at the time of this new construction. A similar departure from the normal width of the capitals occurs in the Washing of Feet (Figs. 52, 53), a capital of a more friable material than the others, and with unusually compact figures and simple, forceful execution.

To which of the masters of the cloister the figure of Simon (Fig. 13) is due I cannot decide. He is surely not the work of the sculptor of the south gallery, but in the remaining capitals there are no figures sufficiently similar to Simon to suggest a common hand. A

little head projecting from the tower beside Nero in the Martyrdom of Peter and Paul (Fig. 45) has a similar appearance. The other figures of this capital, however, are distinct from the apostle. The existence of a capital in the east gallery with the exceptional foliate forms of the relief of Simon also points to one of the hands of the east gallery.

In the cloister the evident differences between the capitals of the east gallery and those of the south are not due to an internal development during the course of the labor, or even to a gradual transformation of the first style during a longer time. The two groups are contemporary, and even the stylistically intermediate group of the pier master (north gallery) is of the same period. I should not say "intermediate," for this word presupposes a logical or historical order of development which is contradicted by closer observation. For if the capitals of the north gallery (B) are more refined and more naturalistic than those of the east (A), and less developed in drapery forms and ornament than the capitals of the south (C), their compositions and space are as complex as C's, and their inscriptions, in fact, more modern. Noteworthy is the presence in the crudest capitals of the east gallery of the zigzag folds and projecting ends of drapery, unknown in B. In the possession of these forms the most archaic capitals intimate a subsequent development, unannounced in B. It may be, however, that they are copied from the style of C, and that far from being an antecedent of C, the capitals of A are an adaptation of C to an earlier manner. But this seems unlikely to me because of the specific character of the broken draperies in A; they presuppose only the simpler pleatings of C and show no trace of the more developed forms even in a coarsened or archaized version.

If we observe within a given group certain internal variations from one capital to another, they can be interpreted as the specific stages of a personal development or that development itself observed in its dynamic process. But these variations within a group are less radical than the differences between the groups as wholes. We can infer a common preoccupation with more naturalistic forms, but it would not account for the striking stylistic differences between the groups and the presence of divergent stylistic tendencies. In the north gallery the draperies are rarely the source of expression or movement; we find more animated draperies and episodic lively compositions in the eastern capitals, which are, however, the most remote from the south gallery in design and naturalism. In the latter, the most novel forms, even if associated with a more complex whole and more complex details, do not imply a uniform transformation of every feature of an earlier practice. Those forms which promote linear movement and intensified peripheral rhythms along the contours are most radically developed; side by side with the more elongated and naturalistic figures and these finer draperies persist the primitive conventions of stance and the most exaggerated distortions. The feet are still separated at a straight angle or are suspended vertically without support, while the earlier fractioned representation of parts appears in such enormities as the right arm of the demon who embraces Christ in the scene of the Temptation (Fig. 32). It is as long as his own body from head to foot. In this group the change of style appears at first the result of a simple addition of new *motifs* to the common stock of forms rather than a central quality that pervasively modifies every detail from within. The old are not completely modified by the intrusive combinations, but exist beside them in the very same figures. This is evident in some imposts where the common palmette acquires a more plastic character in the south gallery by the simple ridging or curling of a lobe, or by the sheathing of a stem, the plant



FIG. 85—*Angels with the Cross* (58)



FIG. 86—*Annunciation to the Shepherds* (61)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of West Gallery



FIG. 87—*Daniel in the Lions' Den* (61)

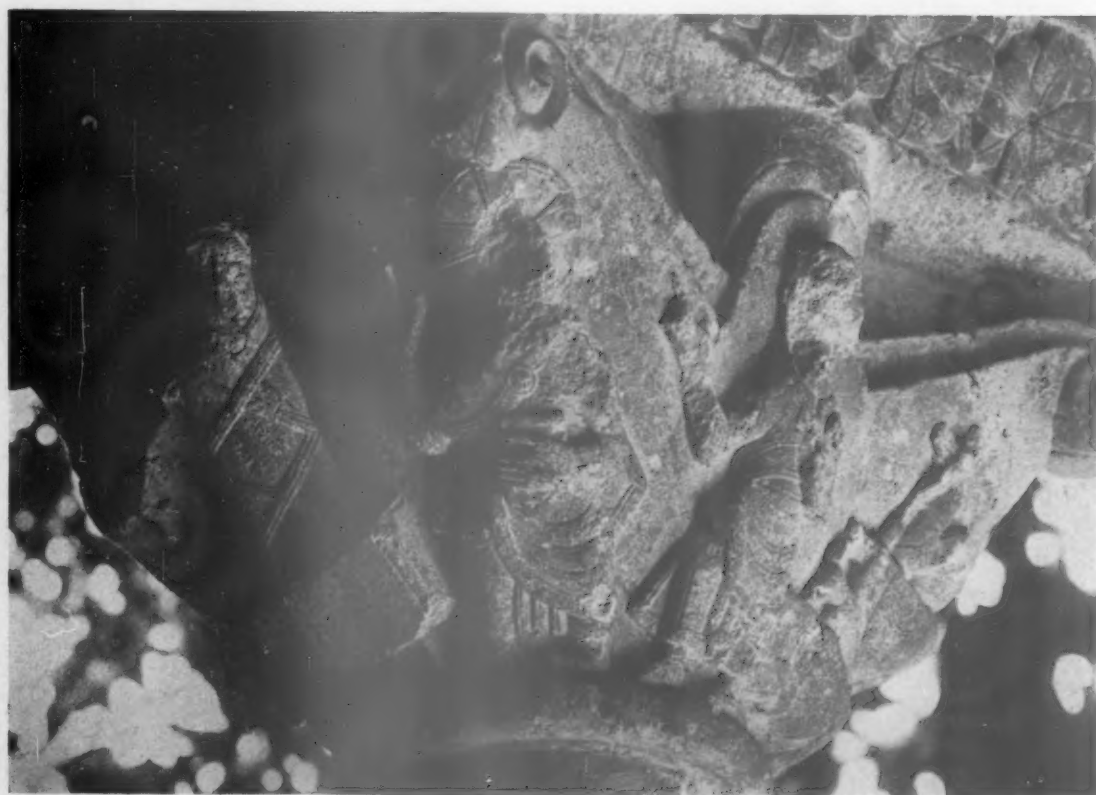


FIG. 88—*The Raising of Lazarus* (64)
Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of West Gallery

otherwise remaining the same. But beside this gradual change, which reflects a plastic tendency in the complication of surfaces and also a search for more intricate and more numerous lines, we must recognize the entirely novel *motifs* of ornament employed by the same sculptor beside the slightly altered palmette. Their richness corresponds to the complexity imposed upon the latter; they include in another context the ridging, sheathing, and curling introduced in the palmette. We are therefore led to suppose that the larger change in the common types is not simply an internal development but has been produced by the intrusion or observation of another style. What forms resulted from the more self-contained development of the original types can be seen in the north gallery, which lacks precisely the novel drapery forms and rich surfaces of the south, although it often exceeds the latter in the naturalistic postures, proportions, and design of the figures.

The masters of the south and east galleries (especially of the Wedding of Cana and the Washing of Feet), although contemporary, are none the less the two poles of a development within the local Romanesque art. In the second we can observe in the clearest manner, on capitals of more massive, almost rectangular form, a style of compact, immobile figures, grouped in ornamental sequences or antithetic schemes, as simple as the structure of the figures themselves. The contours and surfaces of these squat, bulging figures are often only slightly differentiated; they are conceived descriptively as a naïvely realistic, itemized composition of isolated, geometrically formed parts. In the south gallery, on the other hand, the qualities of a disembodied, freer movement are achieved by a proliferation of radial and meandering lines of drapery, by taller, more slender figures of an increased flexibility of posture, by asymmetrical, open compositions and a higher differentiation of surfaces, whereby the originally inert volumes, attached to the wall, are converted into slightly more articulated, more plastic structures that suggest an incipient liberation from the background in an implied, if inconsistently framed, space. Beside this sculptor, the second appears to be a carver of ornamental capitals, of birds, beasts, and plants, who is also called upon to execute figured groups, whereas the first seems primarily a figure artist, who imposes on the ornamental portions of the capitals the individualized complexity of living objects. His astragals are not merely ornamented; they become representations of jeweled, banded, cord-like objects. In his series of ten capitals, unlike those by the other masters, there is not one purely decorative sculpture. But his progressive naturalism goes hand in hand with the disengagement of line from a primitive inert massiveness and a simplified descriptive usage in a composition of discrete elements. Thus the two opposed characterizations of Romanesque style—as of architectonic, rigorously coördinated, weighty, symmetrical, culminating masses, and as an unplastic activity of multiplied, contrasted lines—may both be verified in the sculptures of the cloister. But in the capitals of the south gallery, this second character, already evident even within the most archaic capitals, is intensified, in anticipation of the later tympanum of Moissac.

It is sufficient to have observed that in the very beginning of the modern tradition of sculpture there is already great freedom and divergence from the common method in the same cloister, and that whatever changes occur are not uniformly directed. This freedom corresponds to the variety of subject matter and the *motifs* of ornament, unlike the stereotyped or limited range of other traditions. The basic unity of the whole is apparent when we compare it with works of another region, like Burgundy. The uniform general structure of the capitals is its clearest expression.

A NOTE ON TECHNIQUE

There are no capitals in unfinished state at Moissac which would permit us to study the actual method of carving. Hence it must be inferred from the completed works and by comparison with contemporaneous unfinished capitals in the region. Luckily such a capital, from the cloister of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne, is preserved in the Musée des Augustins at Toulouse (Fig. 128).^{95a} It shows four figures blocked out and partially modeled, probably intended to represent the foolish virgins, since the wise virgins have been carved on the other side. The cutting is sufficiently advanced to enable us to judge of the composition of the figures, their relative mass, the directions of the main lines, and the gestures. But no features are visible. The heads are simple eggs, the hair, broad unstriated surfaces in high relief. It is remarkable that the shoes have been carried further than other parts of the figures, perhaps because of their simple shape. It may be inferred from this capital that at Moissac the sculptor drew upon the smoothed surface of the stone the generalized outlines of the figures and cut away the intervals between them to establish their full salience. The figure was not completed part by part, but, as far as can be judged from this capital in Toulouse and another in the Archaeological Museum of Nevers, the capital was chiseled as a whole, stage by stage, excepting the final details, which necessarily implied some order of succession. The background was smoothed early in the work. In this method are implied a simple relation of salient masses and hollows and a preconception of the capital as a decorative, plastic whole.

The sculptor employed chisels and drills. I have observed no traces of a saw in Moissac and Toulouse, as in the earliest Greek sculptures. The actual forms of the chisels are difficult to determine, since the finished surfaces of the capitals have been smoothed with a finer tool. But it is evident from the capital in Toulouse that a broad-edged chisel was employed in the preliminary (really the actual) labor, since the planes demarcated in the rough-hewn figures are so broad and sharply cut. Besides the chisels, pointed instruments must have been used; several kinds of delicate and coarse grooving, striation, and incision are visible. Some of these may have been accomplished with a narrow chisel, some with a gouge. The drill had a limited application. Traces of its use appear mainly in the ornament and in the cutting of apertures in the buildings rendered on the capitals. Unlike the sculptors of Cuxa, Elne, and the eastern part of Languedoc who retained the late classic practice of drilling details of eyes, mouth, and other parts of the body, the atelier of Moissac employed the drill to represent actual hollows of circular section. It is possible, however, that it was applied also in undercutting heads and limbs of some of the figures and animals. Such undercutting is exceptional in the cloister, but more common in the subsequent works of the region. The practice of undercutting is evidenced in the missing parts of figures, in the destruction of heads and limbs which left no scar upon the background from which they were in part detached. On the capitals of the south gallery, the contours of drapery are in places slightly lifted from the background, and the heads in high relief, while not free from the wall, are tangent to it at only a single point.

The effect of the various materials—the marble and limestone—upon the sculptor's labor and conceptions, is beyond my competence to judge. It is incorrect to reason as does

95a. For a reproduction of this capital see the second

installment of this study in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XIII, No. 4.

Monsieur Rey⁹⁶ that the "progress" of Romanesque sculpture follows the substitution of white calcareous stone for marble, which is less easy to cut, or that the archaism of certain sculptures is simply the result of refractory materials. He cites early Greek sculpture as an example of the consequences of different materials, "poros" and marble, on style. Yet in Greece it is precisely the softer poros which preceded the marble. Had he observed more closely the sculptures of Moissac, of which he has written, he would have seen that in the same calcareous stone is carved a great diversity of figures and that the few marble imposts are neither more nor less crudely decorated than the simple limestone. Not only the most primitive capitals in the cloister (the Shepherds, Cana, Washing of Feet) are in the latter material, but also the most highly developed in design, realism, technique, and complexity of ornament—those of the south gallery. The marble pier reliefs stand between them; but on the later porch the most delicate carving appears on the marble reliefs of the Visitation and Unchastity.

For many years it has been inquired whether Romanesque capitals were carved in place, from the scaffolding, or in the workshop, prior to elevation on the column. For the conditions of labor are manifestly different in the two methods. In the first the sculptor is not as free to manipulate the capital. In the second, however, he lacks the direct vision of its relation to the column, walls, and adjacent moldings. According to most students, Gothic sculptures were all carved in the atelier and set in the walls and arches afterwards, whereas in the Romanesque period both practices are observable. Labor on the scaffold supposedly explains the lack of delicacy in some Romanesque works. For placed high above the ground the sculptor had less ease and assurance in his labor and undertook fewer refinements. This, however, is uncertain, for a skillful sculptor, accustomed to scaffold conditions, was less limited by them. What is called crude is sometimes a willful simplification, or an early work of a powerful plastic sensibility. The inference of sculpture *après* and *avant la pose* is made from the relation of the carving to the wall in which it is fitted. If a capital engaged to a wall is carved on all its sides, despite its partial concealment, it is apparently an atelier rather than scaffold product. But the perfectly adapted capital may as well be an atelier as a scaffold sculpture, for the specifications may have been readily anticipated. The determination of the method has more often been a detail of chronological controversies, rather than of strict technical inquiry. To justify dating of sculptures later than the known consecration or completion of the building, it has been argued that the capitals were carved long after they had been set up rough-hewn on the columns; while those who defended a precocious dating of sculptures in a building constructed over a long period of years invoked the theory of a sculpture *avant la pose* to corroborate an attribution to a time when the building had hardly been begun.

In Moissac the capitals are on columns so low that the scaffolding was probably never employed. On the capital of the Annunciation engaged to the northeast pier (Fig. 69), the servant is cut at the left in order to fit the vertical surface of the pier. This would not have happened if the capital had been carved *in situ*, for then the sculptor would have adapted the figure to the narrow space. It is possible, on the other hand, that this cutting is due to the later reconstruction in the thirteenth century, when the pointed arches were

96. Raymond Rey, *La cathédrale de Cahors*, Paris, Laurens, 1925, pp. 120 ff.

erected. Vöge⁹⁷ supposed that the earliest Romanesque sculptures, and especially those of Southern France, were carved in place, but there are several capitals in Toulouse, on the portals of St.-Sernin and of St.-Pierre-des-Cuisines (a priory of Moissac) of which the faces turned to the jambs are sculptured like the others. They were therefore carved before their erection on the columns. It is certain also that the earliest capitals of the cloister of Silos, which date from the end of the eleventh century, were not carved in place, since in the clusters of five capitals at the mid-points of the arcades the central capital is as minutely carved as the others, although hardly accessible to a chisel between the four supporting columns.

97. Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles*

im Mittelalter, Strassburg, 1894, pp. 267 ff. (270, n. 5, on Moissac).



FIG. 89—*The Anointing of David* (67)



FIG. 90—*The Beatitudes* (71)



FIG. 91—*The Offering of Cain* (72)

Moissac, Cloister: Capitals of West Gallery

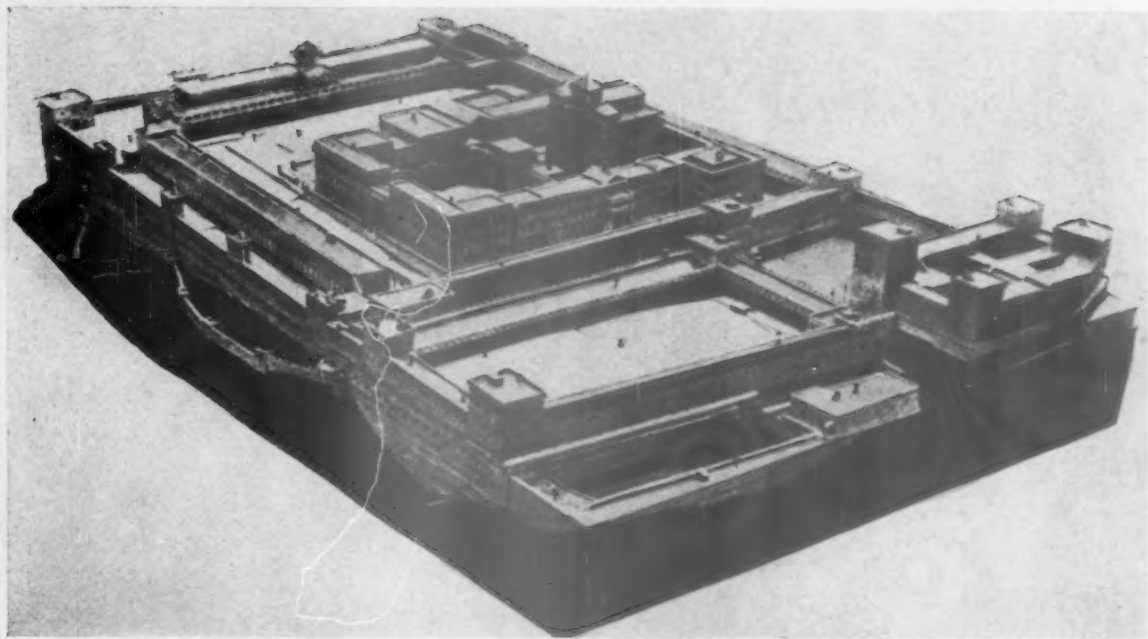


FIG. 1—*Model of Herod's Temple and Surroundings*



FIG. 2—*Restored Ancient Synagogue in Galilee (after Kohl and Walzinger)*

THE BASILICA AND THE STOA IN EARLY RABBINICAL LITERATURE

A Study in Near Eastern Architecture

By HIRSCH LOEB GORDON

I. THE BASILICA

INTRODUCTION

THE basilica may properly be designated as an architectural bridge across the abyss that separates the classical art of building from the Early Christian. It is a structure of a very pronounced type, and though varying in details it remained constant in its general plan and in its main features.

The term *basilica* is the Latinized Greek adjective βασιλική, meaning *royal*, and written in the feminine gender it is supposed to imply and define the words στοά (a roofed colonnade, *porticus*) or οἰκία (house, *domus*). βασιλείος στοά designated a certain building where the ἄρχων βασιλεύς transacted business and the court of the Areopagus sometimes assembled. Some believe that we have here the origin of the basilica.

It is to Vitruvius, the Roman architect who died in the latter years of the reign of Augustus, that we are indebted for the earliest description of the characteristic features of the basilica.¹ According to him the distinguishing characteristics of a basilican building are: rectangularity and columnar division of the interior into a middle space—the nave—and side aisles, the latter being covered with a flat roof forming a terrace for promenading. The inner sides of the roofed aisles are fenced toward the open middle nave by a parapet (*pluteum*). Above are smaller columns, over which a roof (*mediana testudo*) is placed, the spaces between these upper columns being left free for the admission of light.

Now, comparing the plans of existing basilicas we find variations from the above description. In some of them the middle space is surrounded by galleries. Some have an apsis at the rear end. As to the later Christian basilicas, Dalton² distinguishes between Hellenistic and Latin on the one hand, and Oriental on the other; the former having timbered roofs, high and windowed surrounding porticoes, and the latter having vaulted roofs, low and blind nave walls, piers instead of columns, and no atria or porticoes. Many more varying details might be pointed out.

Beginning with the "basilican" peripteral enneastyle temple at Paestum, Southern Italy, built by the Greeks as far back as 550 B. C., we have a number of celebrated Roman secular edifices and Early Christian churches classified as basilicas.³ It is therefore easy to

1. *De Architectura Libri Decem*, published first in Rome, 1486, V, 1, 4; cf. also VI, 3, 9.

2. *East Christian Art*, 1925, pp. 89 f.

3. The most important Roman basilicas, in their chronological order, are: Basilica Porcia, Rome, 184 B. C., Court of Justice and merchants exchange; Basilica

Fulvia, Rome, 179 B. C.; Basilica Aemilia, Rome, 179 B. C.; Basilica Sempronia, Rome, 170 B. C.; Basilica Julia, Rome (in place of Basilica Sempronia), 46 B. C.; Basilica of Trajan, Rome, 98 A. D.; Basilica of Fano, Fano, first century; Basilica of Pompeii, second century; Basilica Ulpia, Rome, third century; Basilica of Treves,

understand the great interest given to the study of this architectonic type by students of classical and Christian (especially Byzantine) archaeology.

In our investigations of the basilican buildings we are helped both by literary references in early writings and by archaeological excavations and explorations of recent times. We have learned from both that the basilica, as every other type of building of the Roman Empire, was confined neither to the capital of the empire nor to the peninsula, but was erected throughout the large imperial dominion, in every province where its eagle was carried by victorious legions. We are, at the same time, convinced that the number of extant basilicas, or even of their ruins and discovered sites, is far less than the number of these noble structures that played such an important part in the daily life of every city in the vast Roman Empire.

It is in view of this that I have decided to collect, translate, and interpret literary materials from sources that have thus far been little used for the purpose of shedding new light on the plan, use, origin, and importance of the Roman basilicas. The materials presented in this thesis are based on authorities who lived at various times during the first five centuries of the Christian era.

The sources are: (a) the works of Josephus Flavius (37-101 A. D.), as far as the Graeco-Roman elements of Herod's temple at Jerusalem are concerned; and (b) the standard collections of rabbinical oral traditions of the first five centuries and, in a few instances, dating earlier than the Christian era. The rabbinical books are as follows:⁴

1. The Mishnah, next to the Old Testament in authority among the Jews. It consists of six "orders," or sixty-three treatises and contains opinions of authorities who lived from 300 B. C. down to 200 A. D. The final editor was Prince Rabbi Judah (surnamed The Saint), known as Rabbi *par excellence*. He died about 199 A. D.
2. The Sifre, a collection contemporary with the Mishnah.
3. The Targums, official Aramaic translation of the Old Testament contemporary with the Mishnah.
4. The Jerusalem (or Palestinian) Talmud, being the official commentary on the Mishnah in Palestine (of which only thirty-nine volumes are extant), and edited about the end of the third century.
5. The Babylonian Talmud, being the official commentary on the Mishnah in Babylonia (of which only thirty-seven volumes are extant), and edited not later than 499 A. D.
6. The Midrashim, homilies, contemporary with the Babylonian Talmud.

The authorities quoted from the above sources, none of whom flourished later than the fifth century of our era, lived in Palestine, Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, and

Treves, 245-313 A. D.; Basilica of Constantine, Rome, 312 A. D. (known also as Basilica of Maxentius).

Of the Christian basilican churches, we have to mention first the pagan basilicas given over by the converted Constantine to the Christians, rebuilt and known afterwards as S. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Maria Maggiore, in Rome. Others are St. Peter's (330), S. Giovanni; Nativity and Sepulcher (Jerusalem); S. Paolo f. l. m.

(380); Sabina; S. Lorenzo; S. Stefano Rotondo (470); St. George (Salonica); S. Apollinare in Classe; etc.

4. I have used the following publications of the rabbinical sources:

Bible with rabbinical and modern commentaries.

Mishnah (compiled ca. 199 A. D.), 6 volumes, Wilna, 1908.

were good observers of the Graeco-Roman cultural innovations. While the Jews fought bitterly against those aspects of Hellenistic culture that were associated with idolatrous practices or ideas, they absorbed willingly all the secular benefits of Hellenistic civilization.

It is sufficient to state that no less than three thousand Greek words are found throughout the early rabbinical literature to show how close those rabbis stood to Greek life. Thousands of other Greek words, used in daily speech by the Jews, were not included in the rabbinical collections because there happened to be no occasion.

Now, the ancient rabbis made many direct references to certain basilicas in Jerusalem (on the Temple Mount), Alexandria, Ashkelon, Tiberias (Palestine), Susa, etc. But basilicas were mentioned by them also indirectly, in connection with laws of the Sabbath, ritual cleanliness, landlord and tenant, damages, etc. Sometimes a parable of "a king who rules in a basilica," etc. is found proper for the illustration of a Biblical verse in a sermon, hence their mention in the Midrashic literature.

Instead of merely alluding to these references in footnotes as is usual in connection with rabbinical sources, I give the whole sentence or even paragraph so that the intelligent reader may judge for himself whether my interpretation is proper. The word *stoa*, for example, is used in the Talmud for both a roofed colonnade and a bench; the meaning depends, of course, on the connection in which the word is used, and the reader, especially the scholar, is entitled to the entire citation.

Many of the Greek and Latin words are not easily recognizable in their Hebrew garb, and, oftentimes, the scribe, or even the printer, who did not know their exact meaning, spelt the same word differently in different places. Of course, in some instances, the different spellings of a word are claimed by scholars to represent totally different words. I have, therefore, quoted the problematic Hebrew-Greek word in capitals (transliterated) for the purpose of a more certain identification.

All the rabbinical quotations are translated from their original languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Palestinian-Aramaic, and Babylonian-Aramaic), and very literally. To make the text intelligible I have inserted explanatory clauses based on statements made elsewhere in the same text or on standard commentaries. However, for the sake of precision I have enclosed my own interpretation within square brackets.

Quotations are cited by treatises and folios, or chapters and subdivisions, which are the same in all the standard editions wherever and whenever printed.

* * *

King Solomon's Armory a Basilica

According to the Bible King Solomon "was building his own house thirteen years." (Kings vii, 1). But it was not a single house; it was, rather, a unit of palaces in one scheme.

Sifre (contemporary with the above), ed. M. Friedman, Wien, 1864.

Tosefta (*idem*), ed. Zuckermann, Trier, 1882.

Talmud, Babylonian (compiled ca. 500 A. D.), Wilna, 1880.

Talmud, Palestinian (compiled ca. 400 A. D.), Piotrkov, 1899.

Midrash Rabba (almost contemporary with Talmuds), Wilna, 1885.

Midrash Tanhuma (*idem*), ed. Buber, Wilna, 1885.

Midrash Tehilim (*idem*), ed. Buber, Wilna, 1891.

Targum (ancient Aramaic translation) of Onkelos, in Mikraot Gedolot, Wilna, 1912.

Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch, ed. Ginzburger, Berlin, 1903.

Abodah Zarah, Mishnah, ed. H. L. Strack, Berlin, 1888.

Abodah Zarah, Mishnah and Tosefta, Blaufuss, Nürnberg, 1916.

One of the buildings was known as "the house of the forest of Lebanon" (verse 2), either because its cedar columns were brought from the forest of Lebanon or because their standing rows recalled that venerable and thickly grown forest.

The Hebrew text describing the construction of this forest palace, as every other architectural description in the Bible, puzzles all commentators⁵ because of our ignorance of ancient Palestinian building and of the original Hebrew text of the Bible. The English translation is only an effort to make the best of it and is by no means settled and binding. We read in I Kings vii, 2-4:

REFERENCE 1:

"For he built the house of the forest of Lebanon: the length thereof was a hundred cubits and the breadth thereof fifty cubits and the height thereof thirty cubits, upon four rows of cedar pillars with cedar beams upon the pillars. And it was covered with cedar above upon the sides⁶ that lay on forty and five pillars, fifteen in a row. And three rows were seen through⁷ and sight to sight three times."

If this be the translation of the above verses (and we offer them to Bible commentators with hope of approval, as they are not forced and leave the text uninjured) we can picture to ourselves the armory of King Solomon as a covered three-round colonnade, or, with certain limitations, a basilica. It had a middle promenade, a nave, and two aisles so that one could "see through" three aisles, and two men walking simultaneously in the same direction along the parallel lines of its width would come in sight of each other "three times." These three aisles were formed by "four rows of cedar pillars." The number of the pillars is not given (contrary to the accepted opinion), as the "fifteen in a row" refers only to the number of beams covering a "side" which might mean that fifteen cedar beams would cover the width of one aisle with their widths. However, this Solomonic basilica had four rows of pillars instead of four solid walls.

The Banquet Hall of Ahasuerus in Susa—a Basilica

REFERENCE 2:

"[We read in the Book of Esther, i, 3, that in the third year of his [Ahasuerus'] reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles] and the princes of the provinces were

5. Rawlinson, Karl, Thenius, Klostermann, Benzinger, Kittel, Brown, Skinner, etc.

6. The common rendering of *ela'oth* by "side chambers" is without foundation.

7. The Hebrew has *u-sheḥufim* which must be derived from the Hebrew *shafaf*, meaning "to see," "to look at." The accepted rendering of *sheḥufim* by "windows" is without foundation. The translations also err in their rendering of I Kings vi, 4: "and for the house he made windows" (*sheḥufim aḥumim*) by "and for the house he made windows of narrow lights" or "broad within and narrow without" (Bible, Jewish Publication Society of America),

as *aḥam* means "to stop," "to close," and, consequently, when *aḥumim* is used as an adjective for windows it can denote nothing else but a window which does not open and does not function as a window but is a mere decoration and is known in architecture as a "dormant window." Solomon then made for the temple "open and dormant windows."

It is worth while to notice that the designation of the temple windows as *'attiqim* (Ezek. xli, 16), puzzling the commentators, tempts us to suggest the meaning of "attic," as architecture knows of a special "attic window."

before him. Rabbi El'azar⁸ and Rabbi Samuel b. Nahman⁹ [who flourished in Palestine in the second half of the third century, argued as to the plan of the banquet hall of King Ahasuerus]. Rabbi El'azar said: [it was] like that state-house (*ἀρχεῖον*)¹⁰ at Gadara [capital of Peraea, Transjordan¹¹] where the king sits in judgment above (*milma'alah*) and the entire audience is seated in front of him on the ground. Rabbi Samuel b. Nahman says: [it was built like] a basilica (*BSILKI*) of great dimensions, which is overcrowded with people, and where the king sits with those near to him [*bimesibo*, e. g., officers, relatives] and the audience are prostrated on their faces in front of him. Therefore it is said [in the Book of Esther, iii, 1]: and the princes of the provinces were *before* him."¹²

Marble for Ahasuerus' Basilica imported from Proconnesus

REFERENCE 3:

"[We read in the Book of Esther, i, 6, that in the palace of King Ahasuerus were] pillars of marble (*ammude shesh*). Says R. Levy [who flourished in Palestine in the second half of the third century¹³]: This [marble] quarry [used by Ahasuerus] was [long] kept unknown until this wicked kingdom [of Rome¹⁴ rediscovered it] . . . And it was easier for Ahasuerus to fashion for himself columns of silver or of gold than to import columns of marble from Proconnesus¹⁵ [an island in the sea of Marmora¹⁶]."

It is interesting to read, in this connection, the account of Dieulafoy's expedition to Susa.¹⁷

Size of the Capitals of Ahasuerus' Basilica

REFERENCE 4:

"Said R. Mathna [who¹⁸ flourished in Babylonia in the second half of the third century]: I have slept on one of its [i. e., the basilica's] capitals (*pirho*)¹⁹ and it was as wide as the full stature of a person lying with outstretched hands and feet."¹⁶

8. Rabbi Elazar (b. Pedath) was a native of Babylon but traveled to Palestine, where he became the head of the academy at Tiberias, and where he died in 287 A. D. For his great learning he was surnamed "The Master of Palestine" (Yoma 9b). Though famous for his extreme poverty (Berakot 5b) he was, by a paradox of fate, the greatest expert on numismatics in his generation (B. Kama 101a).

9. Contemporary of the former, celebrated both in Palestine and Babylon.

10. The *ἀρχω βασιλεύς* transacted there official business and the house was hence known also as *βασιλική* (basilica).

11. Hebrew, *Gader*, Greek, *Γάδαρα*, a city of the decapolis of Syria rebuilt by Pompey and famous for its ruins of magnificent classical structures.

12. Emphasis on the word *lefanav* Esther R., 1, 19.

13. A pupil of the above mentioned Rabbi Samuel b. Nahman celebrated as preacher (Jer. Rosh Hashanah, IV) and Arabist (Ber. IX, V; Ber. R., 36; 87; 63; Ex. R., 42; Lev. R. 1, 3; 25, 5, etc.).

14. *Lamalkut haresha'ah hazot*: "Wicked kingdom" was the safe appellation of Rome in the mouths of the

rabbis, who both hated and dreaded her. They could never forgive Rome for having destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, an act which even the Greeks did not allow themselves.

15. This island has at all times been noted for its quarries of white marble, which supplied the materials for several famous buildings of antiquity, as the palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus. See V. C. Texier, *Asia Mineure* (Paris, 1837-1849); M. I. Gedeon, *Προκόννησος* (Constantinople, 1895); monograph by F. W. Hasluck in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XXIX, 1909. The Hebrew reads *PRK ONSIN*, but according to J. Fürst, *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 187, and S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter*, Berlin, 1899, II, p. 495, it stands for the above name.

16. Esther R., 2, 7.

17. M. Dieulafoy, *Les Antiquités de Suse*, Paris, 1913, pp. 10 ff.

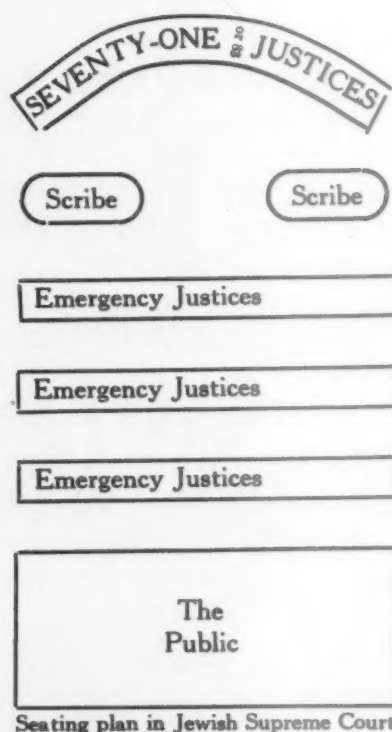
18. Head of the academy at Epiphania on the Euphrates. V. B. Batra 906; A. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, p. 360.

19. Literally, "flower."

Basilica of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem

The Great Synedrion (συνέδριον), or Supreme Court of the Jews, consisting of seventy-one members, met in the Gazith Chamber on the Temple Mount of Jerusalem. It was built within the temple area and half of it was even placed within the priestly territory (*ezrat cohanim*), where no laymen, not even a lay judge, could stand. Besides passing on false prophets, declaration of war and inter-tribal disputes,²⁰ the Great Synedrion was always at hand to decide on matters of priestly procedure.²¹ It is very interesting to note the way the judges, scribes, and emergency judges were seated when court was held.

REFERENCE 5:



"The Synedrion²² was [seated] in the form of a half round granary²³ [i. e., semicircle], in order that every one should see the others and the two court scribes stood in front of them . . . and three rows of scholars sat before them . . . and if [one justice suddenly died and] they had to initiate [another in his stead] they would initiate one from the first [row]."²⁴

REFERENCE 6:

"The Chamber of Gazith²⁵ [where the Great Synedrion, the Jewish Supreme Court, held its sessions] was [built on the Temple Mount, Jerusalem] in the form of a big basilica (*BSILKI gedolah*).²⁶ The ψήφος²⁷ [stone dice to decide upon the division of the daily temple duties among the priests] was kept in

20. Sanh. I, 5.

21. Mid. V, 4.

22. Whether the Great Synedrion, of seventy-one members, or the Lesser one, of twenty-three.

23. *Kaḥaṣi goren 'agulah*. It is interesting to note that all the ancient granaries were cylindrical.

24. Sanh. IV, 3.

25. The origin of the name Gazith is disputed. It is suggested that it was named thus either because it was

built of hewn stones (I Kings vi, 7) or because it was segregated (Aruch Completum, 1926, III, p. 270).

26. The temple of Bel at Palmyra was also called in an ancient Semitic inscription "big basilica" (*BSLKA RABETA*). See M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, Giessen, 1900-1912, II, 278; *ibid*, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphie*, Weimar, 1898, I, p. 238.

27. Hebrew, *PYYS*; see S. Krauss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 431.

the eastern part of the basilica, which was forbidden territory for non-priests, and the elder [justice, who was not a priest] was seated in the west [part of the building], while the priests, surrounded and stood in the form of a spiral [Greek, *Κοχλιάριον*; Hebrew, *KOKLIAR*; Latin, *cochlear*]. When the one in charge approaches [a priest] and takes off his hood, it becomes known that the lot begins with him. . . . We understand from this that half of the Chamber of Gazith was built on the sacredness [i. e., priestly ground] and half on non-sacredness. We have also learned that it had two entrances, one to the holiness [of the priestly territory] and one to the ordinary [ground].²⁸

From the above quotations we infer that the edifice in which the Supreme Court of Palestine met during the period of the second Jewish temple in Jerusalem and situated within its very area, was a basilica. Furthermore, from the way the judges were seated—like half of a round granary—it is safe to assume that it had an apse on one end, on the western, where the court was held. However, it is also very possible that there was an apse also on the eastern, priestly, end, where the priests used to congregate and stand in the form of a spiral. This Gazith basilica had two entrances, probably one at each end, facing each other.

This basilica can be dated no later than 20 B. C., when Herod rebuilt it after tearing down the older building. However, modern research has established the fact that Herod made no changes in the general plan of the previous temple, erected about 400 B. C., and the Gazith basilica may thus be dated as early as that.

The Jewish Basilica in Alexandria Destroyed by Trajan in 116 A. D.

When Alexander the Great founded the city of Alexandria, Egypt, in 332 B. C., the Jews were already present there,²⁹ and they have always since formed a considerable part of the population, occupying sometimes a fourth of the city's area.³⁰ They were self-governed, first by an ethnarch and then by representatives of their gerusia. The legal status of the Jews had its ups and downs. At times the Jews entered the entire Egyptian army even as officers,³¹ but at other times, especially when their brethren in Palestine were accused of rebellion, they were persecuted and massacred. Naturally, the most cruel treatment of the Jews was given by the Roman governors, representing a people falsely crowned as the creators of the laws.

According to Philo there were many synagogues (*προσευχαί*) scattered throughout the city of Alexandria. One of them is mentioned by him as being especially large and magnificent.³² According to a Greek inscription now in Berlin, the synagogue of Alexandria even enjoyed the inviolable right of asylum.³³

28. Yoma 25a; Tosef. 1; Tos. Sukkah 4, Tos. Hag. 2; Tos. Sanh. 7; Jer. Sanh. 1; Jer. Horiot, 1.

29. Josephus, *Contra Ap.* II, 4; *Ant.* XIX, 5, § 2.

30. Josephus, *B.*, II, 18, § 8.

31. Josephus, *Contra Ap.* II, 5; *Ant.* XIII, 10, § 4; 13, § 1.

32. *De Legatione ad Cajum*, § 20; ed. Mangey, II, 568.

33. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1863—, III, Supp. n. 6583.

We are fortunate in having a description of one of these synagogues in Alexandria, probably the one praised by Philo. It has come down to us in several texts: in the Tosefta,³⁴ Babylonian Talmud,³⁵ and Jerusalem Talmud.³⁶ Except for slight variations they agree with each other in calling that building by two, seemingly interchangeable, names: double stoa (διπλόστοον),³⁷ and big basilica (BSILKI gedolah).

The term διπλόστοον denotes a building possessing a διπλὴ στοά or διπλᾶς στοάς. The same term is used in the description of a synagogue in Tiberias³⁸ of the fourth century. Now, διπλοῦς means "doubling" in Greek, in any use, but διπλὴ στοά denotes only a στοά δίστεγος, a two-storied hall, and not a stoa two columns in width, for the latter would still be a single-space stoa. The ancient "double stoas" of the gymnasia and market places were always two-storied,³⁹ such was the case in Priene,⁴⁰ Halicarnassus,⁴¹ and Opramoas.⁴²

The Alexandrine basilica had, therefore, a two-storied porticus, and the expression "a stoa within a stoa" denotes the porticus along the narrow wall, that seems to be within the two side stoas, in the manner of the Galilean synagogues.⁴³

The illustration of a restored ancient synagogue in Galilee (Fig. 2) shows a double stoa.

I will quote the text of the Babylonian Talmud, giving the variations in footnotes.

REFERENCE 7:

"R. Judah [who flourished in Palestine in the second half of the second century⁴⁴] said [in a Beraita⁴⁵]: Whoever did not see the *Double Stoa* of Alexandria, Egypt, has not seen the glory of Israel. They said it was built like a big basilica (BSILKI gedolah), a stoa⁴⁶ within a stoa (STIU lifnim miSTIU). Sometimes there were [congregated] double the number [of adult males] that left Egypt [with Moses, i. e., 60 x 10,000 x 2 = 1,200,000, and seventy-one⁴⁷ cathedras [i. e., thrones⁴⁸] of gold [were there] for the seventy-one [members] of the Great Synedrion [i. e., Supreme Court]. Every one [of these golden cathedras] was [made] of not less than twenty-one myriads [210,000] talents⁴⁹

34. Sukkah IV.

35. Sukkah 51b.

36. Sukkah V, I.

37. The Hebrew spelling is in the Babylonian Talmud, *DIUPLOSTON*; in the Palestinian Talmud, *DIPLI ISTBA*; and in the Tosefta, *DPLSKON*.

38. Mid. Psalms, 93, 8.

39. See Hiller von Gärtringen bei Jacobstahl, in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1908, p. 413; Dörpfeld, in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1907, pp. 192 ff., ill. 5, 7; 1908, p. 329, fig. 1, Taf. XVIII.

40. Wiegand, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 216; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inchriften aus Priene*, Berlin, 1907, Nos. 49, 7.

41. Wilhelm, in *Oesterr. Jahreshefte*, XI (1908), pp. 53 ff.

42. R. Heberdey, *Opramoas*, pp. 49 ff.: εἰς κατασκευὴν στοᾶς διπλῆς πρὸς τῷ λιμένι.

43. H. Kohl and Carl Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 182.

44. He was the teacher of Judah the Prince (editor of the Mishnah) and the most quoted Talmudical authority, ten thousand traditions having been handed down in his name. He was an admirer of Roman civilization (Sabbath, 33b).

45. Non-canonical Mishnah, often quoted in the Talmud.

46. Palestinian Talmud: *ISTIU*.

47. Palestinian Talmud: seventy.

48. Palestinian Talmud adds: "set with precious stones and pearls."

49. Palestinian Talmud and Tosefta: "250,000 denars."

of gold [i. e., 630,000,000 shekels, i. e., \$403,200,000 per throne]. . . . And a wooden *bema* (βῆμα⁵⁰) was in the center of it. And the *hazzan*⁵¹ of the synagogue (*keneset*) stood on it with banners (*sudarim*) in his hands. And as soon as [the congregation] was about to answer Amen, he would raise a banner and the entire congregation would answer Amen."

"And they were not seated there in a mixed order, but goldsmiths apart, silversmiths apart, blacksmiths apart, coopersmiths apart, and the weavers apart. So that when a poor [artisan] would enter there he would recognize the members of his profession and turn to them and thus derive means for the maintenance of himself and of his family."

REFERENCE 8:

"And Abayi⁵² said: And all of them were killed by Alexander the Macedonian(?). Why were they punished? Because they trespassed the [command of God, saying]: Ye shall henceforth return no more that way⁵³ [i. e., to Egypt], but they did return. When he [Alexander] came [to the place afterwards known as Alexandria] he found them [in this synagogue] reading the verse: The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand⁵⁴. . . And he brought a ship within five days, attacked them, and killed them."⁵⁵

Of course, it seems hardly believable that Alexander massacred the Jews of Alexandria and that when he founded the city he found there so many Jews. Some corruption of the name must have taken place. The Palestinian Talmud⁵⁶ ends the same description as follows:

"And who destroyed it? The wicked Trajanus."⁵⁷

Was the Jewish Basilica in Alexandria a House of Prayer?

Prof. S. Krauss denies that the Jewish basilica in Alexandria, just described, was a house of prayer. He writes:⁵⁸ "Throughout the Talmud there is no trace of an identification between a basilica and a prayer-house and throughout the hundreds of Greek-Roman inscriptions a Jewish house of prayer is never called a basilica. . . . We therefore conclude that the [Jewish] basilica in Alexandria was only accidentally used as a synagogue, for the numerous Jews who visited it from morning till evening held their prayers in set times. Just imagine a big European Stock Exchange, with a majority of Jewish members, who might oftentimes congregate for prayer in the same building." He concludes, therefore, that this basilica was a kind of bazaar and in the manner of ancient forums it devoted space to different activities like commerce, artisanship, legal action, and teaching.

50. Hebrew *bimah*.

51. Superintendent of prayer meeting. It is now used for "cantor."

52. One of the two greatest rabbinical authorities of his generation in Babylon. Born, 279 A. D., and died, 339 A. D. He thus flourished about 200 years after Rabbi Judah.

53. Deut. xvii, 16.

54. *Ibid.*, xxviii, 49.

55. Sukkah 51b.

56. Sukkah V, 1.

57. Hebrew, *Troginus*, but according to M. A. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud*, 1926, p. 553 and S. Krauss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 273 it is a corruption of *Trajanus*, i. e., *Trajan* (98-117 A. D.).

58. *Kadmoniyot Hattalmud*, Vienna, 1923, I, 2, p. 430.

But the above arguments are far from convincing. The Talmudical description dwells as much on the basilica's function as a house of prayer as on its judicial tribunal and the division of the artisans into guilds. In fact, no hint is given there of actual commercial activities. The division into guilds in connection with the prayer house is very distinct up to the present day throughout Europe, where one finds in every Jewish community with a considerable population separate synagogues for tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, drivers, butchers, musicians, ex-soldiers, etc., known by these names (e. g., *die Schneiderscheschul*—the tailors' synagogue, etc.). In Lemberg, for example, the guild synagogues form an actual part of the main synagogue in the form of chapels (*Schtiblech*). We claim, therefore, that the basilica was a synagogue.

Basilica as Symbol of the Might of Rome

We have already remarked above that the rabbis were overfilled with deadly hatred towards the Roman rule over Palestine. It is natural that they should express a wish to see the Roman power crushed. As usual, this wish was "put" into the mouth of an ancient seer, this time, Isaiah. We thus read:

REFERENCE 9:

"The verse said: And his rock (*vesale'o*) shall pass away by reason of terror (*mimmagor*).⁵⁹ The verse had in mind the wicked kingdom [of Rome]. His rock stands for his tax collection⁶⁰ and of terror means of his state treasury.⁶¹ Another explanation: His rock means his icons,⁶² of terror means of his basilica."⁶³

The Three Types of Basilicas: for Kings, for Treasures, and for Baths

REFERENCE 10:

"Rabba bar Ḥanah⁶⁴ said on the authority of R. Joḥanan [who flourished in Palestine in the third century]:⁶⁵ There are three [kinds of] basilicas: (a) for heathen kings,⁶⁶ (b) for baths,⁶⁷ (c) for treasuries.⁶⁸

"Said Rabba:⁶⁹ All [of these basilicas] may be [built by Jewish artisans, without fearing that they might be converted to illegal use]. And if we learned [in the Mishnah⁷⁰]: [A Jew] must not build with them [i. e., with the heathen] a

59. Isaiah xxxi, 9.

60. T. Hebrew, *arnuna*, from the Greek, *ἄρνα* (J. Levy, *Woerterbuch ueber die Talmudim*, Leipzig, 1876-89, I, 67) or *ἀρνίον* (G. Dalman, *Armaische-neuhebraisches Handwoerterbuch*, Frankfurt, 1922, p. 42b. A play on the word *sela'*, meaning both rock and shekel.

61. *tusbarit*, from the Greek *θησαυρός*, a play on the word *magor* in the sense of *mamgurot* (Joel i, 17).

62. *'igonim*, from the Greek *εἰκόνη*, sculptured portrait. A play on the word *sela'* in the sense of *mesula'im* (Lam. iv, 2).

63. Deriving the word *magor* from *gur*, "to dwell."

64. Celebrated traveler of the third century and disciple of Rabbi Joḥanan.

65. Most celebrated of all the Palestinian post-Mishnaic scholars, died in Tiberias in 279 A. D. Has edited the greater part of the Palestinian Talmud.

66. The Greeks would also say *κασάριον*. It would mean a royal residence, for a court for royal judgment would be among the prohibited buildings, where Jews might be sentenced to death for their faith.

67. Meaning, probably, the halls for rest and relaxation, as seen in the thermae of Caracalla and of Diocletian in Rome. (B. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, 1928, pp. 156-163.)

68. Meaning, most likely, warehouses or public markets.

69. (Not interchangeable with Rabbah.) Dean of the Academy of Maḥoza, Babylon. Died 357 A. D.

70. Abodah Zarah 16a.

basilica, a *gradum*,⁷¹ a stadium,⁷² and a *bema*,⁷³ [I do not say that the Mishnah prohibited from building a basilica as such, but] I say [the Mishnah prohibits the erection by Jewish artisans of a basilica only if it is to be used] for a *gradum*, for a stadium, and for a *bema*.⁷⁴"

The Basilica as Court for Capital Offenses, and as Royal Residence

The Romans sentenced numerous Jews to death for their adherence to the faith of their forefathers. Jewish artisans were therefore forbidden to take a share in the erection of the courts where the Jewish martyrs might be tried and the stadiums and other buildings where the same might be executed. Building an edifice for idolatrous worship was equally forbidden.

REFERENCE 11:

"[A Jew] must not build with them [i. e., with the heathen] a basilica,⁷⁵ a *gradum*,⁷⁶ a stadium,⁷⁷ and a *bema*.⁷⁸ But it is permitted to build with them state buildings⁷⁹ and public baths.⁸⁰ As soon as they reach the arch⁸¹ where they place an idol⁸² they must cease to build."⁸³

King's Time Divided between Basilica and Citadel

REFERENCE 12:

"A king whose practice it is to sit in judgment; when they go up⁸⁴ to the basilica they find him administering justice but when they go out to his citadel⁸⁵ they find him sleeping."⁸⁶

The Basilica as a Place of Imprisonment

REFERENCE 13:

"While they were engaged⁸⁷ in the [weaving of] silk, came a government official and said to them: [You must either] make a purple⁸⁸ garment for the

71. Hebrew, *GRDOUM*, accusative of the Latin *gradus*, whence the Greek *γπάδος* (Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 86.)—a courthouse or, more exactly, the *steps* of the courthouse (S. Krauss, *op. cit.*, II, 183). We thus read about "ascending the *gradum*" to be judged. R. Hananel (990-1050) to Ab. Zara 16b: *GRDUN*—the Greek for courthouse.

72. Hebrew, *iqṭadia*, from the Greek *στράδιον*, though Jastrow (*op. cit.*, p. 59), as usual, derives it from the Aramaean, *qadi*, to be desolate, and *iqṭadia* is a cacophemism for theater.

73. *bimah*, from the Greek *βήμα*—a tribunal (Krauss, *Syn. Alt.*, p. 334) or judge's seat (Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

74. Abodah Zarah 16b.

75. Where court is held.

76. See above, note 71. Goldschmidt, in his German translation of the Babylonian Talmud renders it *Schafott*, i. e., execution platform.

77. See above, note 72. Goldschmidt renders it *Arena*. In it the Romans exhibited gladiatorial "games" and "fights" with beasts, which were really brutal mass executions.

78. See above, note 73.

79. The Hebrew *BIMSIOT* of the standard text would point to the Greek *βωμίστα*, altar or idol's stand, which would certainly be prohibited. The reading of *DIMUSIOT*, as found in a manuscript and followed by H. L. Strack, Abodah Zarah, Berlin, 1888, p. 13, and H. Blaufuss, Abodah Zarah, Nürnberg, 1916, p. 10, is better. We derive it from *δημόσια*, having the sense of (a) what belongs to the state and (b) of public baths, and I suggest the former, as both are mentioned anyway.

80. *bet merḥaze'ot*.

81. Hebrew, *KIPAH*, meaning arch, vault.

82. See, for example, the *Thermae of Trajan* (W. J. Anderson, *Architecture of Ancient Rome*, 1927, pl. L) with the images under the semidomes.

83. Mishnah Ab. Zarah, 1, 7.

84. *'olim*, showing that the basilica was on an elevation.

85. Hebrew, *PRWD*. The *Aruch Completum*, 1926, vol. 6, 416a, reads *PRWR* and Kohut in his note suggests the Greek *προόριον* as the origin. In Persian *PRUR* (or *frarah*) means a vestibule, which would really be very fitting here.

86. Gen. Rabba 68, 12.

87. *yalebin venasein*, like *nosein venotenin*.

88. *purpura*, from the Greek *πορφύρα*.

king or be punished with 600 denars and be taken and imprisoned⁸⁹ in⁹⁰ the basilica."⁹¹

Basilica Entered from Two Sides; its Varying Sizes

Among the thirty-nine classes of work forbidden on Saturday is carrying from one premise into another.⁹² But one may carry *within* one private premise.

Premises are divided into that with "the privilege of the individual,"⁹³ or private ground, and that with "the privilege of the many,"⁹⁴ or public ground.

With regard to ritual uncleanness, when a doubt enters (whether an object is clean or unclean) the law is that an object within the area of *public* ground is declared to be clean while when the object of the doubt is within the area of *private* ground it is declared to be unclean.⁹⁵

This will make it easier for us to comprehend the following quotation from the Mishnah:

REFERENCE 14:

"A basilica is [considered] private ground [with reference] to [the laws] of Sabbath and public ground [with reference] to [a doubt about] cleanliness. R. Judah⁹⁶ says: If one standing in one entrance can see those entering and leaving through the other entrance—it is [considered] private ground [with reference] to both [Sabbath and purity] and if [he can] not [see]—it is [considered] private ground [with reference] to Sabbath and public ground [with reference] to uncleanness."⁹⁷

A Basilica Open by Day and Locked by Night

REFERENCE 15:

"A basilica which is kept open by day and locked by night, as long as it is open is [considered] public ground, but after it is locked it is [considered] private ground."⁹⁸

The Facing of the Doors in a Basilica

REFERENCE 16:

"If the doors of a basilica face each other, and a stoa⁹⁹ which is fenced on this [side] and on the other [side] and there is a space between the columns,¹⁰⁰ says R. Judah: if one standing on one side sees those who enter and leave on

89. *vehabeshtinon* has the meaning of being detained and imprisoned. (Ket. II, 9; Sabb. 152b; Y. B. Bath. V and 15b.)

90. *B* has the meaning of "in" in Hebrew, so that the *B* of basilica was erroneously understood by the copyist as meaning "in" and *Bsilki* (basilica) meant to him "in the basilica." Some, however, suggest the word *pilke* from the Greek *φυλακή*, meaning prison (as in EX. R., 15, 16).

91. LEV. R., 34, 12.

92. Maimonides, Yad, Sabbath 7, 1.

93. *reshut hayyahid*.

94. *reshut harabbim*.


95. Toharoth, 6, 1.

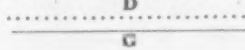
96. See above, note 1.

97. Toharoth, 6, 8.

98. Tosefta, Toharoth, 7.

99. *STIU*.

100. This description of a stoa is worthy of notice. Let us imagine an elementary basilica where the doors face each other A  B, then the stoa mentioned here, must resemble it, when fenced on two

sides only C  E the two sides

are F, G, and when a man stands at C, he looks through the space D to see those entering and leaving through E.

the other side, it is [considered] private ground for Sabbath and public ground for uncleanness; if not, it is private ground for this and for that."¹⁰¹

The Nave of a Basilica as against its Aisles

REFERENCE 17:

"A basilica in which the doors face each other, the nave¹⁰² is private ground for Sabbath and public ground for uncleanness, while the aisles¹⁰³ are private ground for both."¹⁰⁴

Similarity between Forum and Basilica

It is noteworthy that the last paragraph about "a basilica in which the doors face each other," which I have quoted from the Tosefta, is also found in the Mishnah¹⁰⁵ (a collection contemporary with the Tosefta), with this remarkable difference, that the Mishnah uses the word *forum*¹⁰⁶ for *basilica*.

Now, this may mean either that because the basilicas were usually parts of forums the terms became intermixed, or because a forum, when surrounded by a portico, exhibited very much the same plan as the basilica, but on a larger scale and with an open roof.¹⁰⁷

The Basilicas at Gadara and Hamath

REFERENCE 18:

"A basilica in which the entrances do not face each other, as the courtyard¹⁰⁸ of Beth Gebi¹⁰⁹ and Hamath¹¹⁰ — both the nave and the aisles are private ground for Sabbath [laws] and public ground for impurity [laws].

"A private courtyard trespassed by a public thoroughfare, as the courtyard of Beth Gedi,¹¹¹ as private ground for impurity [laws] while its sides are private ground for both."¹¹²

The Basilica near the Bathhouse and Theater

A typical distribution of public buildings on the market place of a Roman city is described in the following story used as a parable in a Midrashic sermon:

REFERENCE 19:

"When a slave is told by his master: Wait for me on the market place,¹¹³ without telling him [exactly] where he should wait, the slave begins to meditate: Did he mean I should wait for him at the basilica, at the bathhouse, or

101. Tos, Toharoth, 7.

102. Literally, middle: 'emqā'i.

103. Literally, sides: qedadin.

104. Tos, Toharoth, 7.

105. Toharoth, 6, 9.

106. Hebrew, FRN.

107. We are still in doubt about some of the Roman basilicas as to whether they were roofed or not.

108. haqer.

109. The reading of Beth Gebi, *betGBI*, is controversial. The Tosefta (ed. of Vienna, 1861), reads here Bet Gedi, as in the latter part. Goldhor, *Admat Kodesh*, 98, n. 3, identifies it with the modern Hirbat Gedi, near Tiberias,

Palestine. Now it is possible that Beth Gedi, whether a person (I. S. Horowitz, *Palestine*, Vienna, 1923, I, 192, n. 15) or place, possessed both a well-known basilica and a well-known courtyard. But *Geder* is also a plausible reading, first because Gadara, in Transjordan, was one of the dekapolis, a seat of Graeco-Roman culture, and second, because Geder and Emmaus are mentioned together in Tos. E 2. 4; Bab. Ev. 2. 61a.

110. Probably the Hamath of N. Syria, the later Epiphania.

111. See note 109. The Gaon of Wilna, a. l. reads Geder.

112. Tos. Toharoth, 7.

113. *shuf*.

at the theater?¹¹⁴ [Meanwhile, his master] came up¹¹⁵ and found him [not where he expected to] and he slapped him saying: I have sent you [to wait for me] at the gate of the Praefect's¹¹⁶ palace."¹¹⁷

Public Thoroughfare passing through a Basilica

REFERENCE 20:

"Said R. Abbahu¹¹⁸ on the authority of R. Jose b. Hanina [who flourished in Palestine in the latter half of the second century]: [If one leases an ass to carry a load from one place to another and he caused the ass to pass] through a shorter road¹¹⁹ [and the ass died. The driver] is not indebted to replace another ass [to the owner, as the short cut could not have been the cause of his death. However, if the driver, instead of following the standard road, caused the ass to pass] through a basilica¹²⁰ he is obliged to present [to the owner] another ass [as the difficulties of a passage through a crowded basilica might have brought about his death]."¹²¹

Basilica of Ashkelon a Wheat Market

REFERENCE 21:

"Said R. Phinehas b. Ja'ir¹²² [of the second half of the second century]: In Ashkelon [Palestine] . . . wheat is sold in the basilicas."¹²³

REFERENCE 22:

"Said R. Phinehas b. Ja'ir: We used to go down to the basilica¹²⁴ of Ashkelon to buy wheat."¹²⁵

The Gates of Basilicas Owned by Jews

REFERENCE 23:

"The gates of basilicas, state offices and public baths [must not be provided with the installation of cases containing chapters of the Bible¹²⁶ and known as Mezuzahs,¹²⁷ for they are neither] houses of dignity [nor] residences."¹²⁸

It is self-evident that this law provides for *Jewish* basilicas, state offices and public baths, as gates in buildings owned by non-Jews do not require the Mezuzah."

II. THE STOA

It has already been noted by several writers on classical architecture that the basilica as we know it from antiquity, by descriptions and remains, is simply a combination of two

114. PITRON, but Tanhuma reads *theatron*.

115. The forum was on an elevation.

116. *eparkos* from the Greek *ἐπαρχος*.

117. PLTRIN—from the Greek *πλευρώριον*. This reference is from EX. R. 15, 22.

118. Celebrated for his beauty (B. Meš'ia 84a), bodily strength (Berak. 60a), and wealth (Sabb. 119a) and disputant with Sadducees and Christians (Ber. 10a; Suk. 48b.). Lived in Caesarea.

119. KPNDRIA from the Latin, *compendiaria*; so in Syriac: *kopandra*.

120. The Basilica Aemilia, for example, had a nave 100 feet wide, well suited for a thoroughfare. (See Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 83f.)

121. Jer. B. Kama 6, 3.

122. Celebrated Mishnaic scholar of Palestine about whom miraculous events are told.

123. Tosefta, Ahiloth, 18.

124. Hebrew, *SIRKI*, but it is certainly a corruption of BSILKI. See S. Krauss, *Kadmoniyot Hattalmud*, Vienna, 1923, I, pt. 2, p. 429.

125. Jer. Shabuoth 6, 1; Jebamot 7, 3.

126. Dt. VI, 4-9; XI, 13-21.

127. See Art. Mezuzah, Jewish Encyclopaedia, VIII, 831, b.

128. Sifre, Deut., Piska 36.

(and in some cases three) stoas joined together. It is therefore within the scope of our study to seek in the vast rabbinical literature of the first five centuries after Christ for explicit (direct and indirect) references to stoas, as we have done above in our study of the Near Eastern basilicas. But before we attempt to do so we must clarify the definition of the term stoa as given by standard lexicons and archaeologists.

The Greek term stoa (*στοά*) or the Latin *porticus* (whence our English *porch*) denoted a covered structure supported on at least one side by columns, appended to another building or detached, as a shady walk or place of assemblage, a colonnaded, sheltered space.

It played a very important part in the open-air life of the Greeks and was erected to protect the numerous pilgrims visiting holy shrines, to connect public monuments, and as shelter from the sun and rains in open spaces. The most important ones were the echo, or painted, colonnade at Olympia, the two at Epidaurus to shelter patients at the shrine of Aesculapius, and the three at Delphi. Of great interest are also the porticoes at the Theseion, Athens; Pantheon, Rome; Temple of Athena Polias, at Priene; and the stoa of Eumenes at Athens.

The Stoics, whose greatest teacher was the philosopher Zeno (342-270 B. C.), are known as such because their serious discussions were held in the open-air Stoa Poecile (painted porch) of Athens.

The Stoas in the Temple of Solomon (ca. 1000 B. C.)

When we set out with the above definition of stoa to look for its existence in the early Jewish post-Biblical records, we meet it first in Josephus' description of Solomon's temple. The Biblical records in the first book of Kings, chapters 6-7, are very vague, too heavily taxing the imagination in any visualization of the different architectural forms. The vagueness is chiefly due to our lack of understanding of the ancient Hebrew text. However, in the writings of Josephus, who lived eighteen hundred years nearer to the period of King Solomon than we and who wrote in Greek, the few references to the stoa cloisters of Solomon's temple are more definite, though not so clear as his description of the stoas of Herod's temple (cf. Fig. 1).

REFERENCE 24:

"Solomon . . . built beyond this [inner] court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, erected for it great and broad cloisters. . . . He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of cloisters which stood on high upon pillars of native stone."¹²⁹

Stoas in King Solomon's Royal Palace

REFERENCE 25:

"The king laid foundations for his palace . . . This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars . . . He moreover built other edifices for pleasure, as also very long cloisters, and those situated in an agreeable place in the palace."¹³⁰

¹²⁹. Josephus Flavius, *Works*, ed. B. Niese, Berlin, 1887-1894: *Antiquities of the Jews*, VIII, III, 9.

¹³⁰. *Ibid.*, VIII, V, 1-2.

Stoas in the Temple of Herod (14 B. C.)

Josephus was an eyewitness to the glories of Herod's temple. According to tradition and recent archaeological surveys, Herod did not build the temple on a new plan, but simply restored it after the older model of Solomon's, which had been imperfectly rebuilt by the returned Babylonian exiles, who had to be guided by the measurements given to them by Cyrus and Darius.¹³¹ We can therefore rest assured that most of the architectural features described below by Josephus as pertaining to Herod's temple were also characteristic of Solomon's erected a millennium before.

In his *Antiquities of the Jews* Josephus narrates that in the eighteenth year of his reign Herod undertook "to build himself the temple of God" and that "the whole structure as also the structure of the royal cloister¹³² was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher."

REFERENCE 26:

"He also encompassed the temple with very large cloisters,¹³³ contriving them to be in due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him. There was a large wall to each of the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man.

"The hill was walled up all around . . . but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having on the east quarter a double cloister¹³⁴ of the same length with the wall, in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked toward the gates of the temple and it had been adorned by many kings in former times . . .

"But the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had the royal cloisters,¹³⁵ with the three walks, which reached in length from the east valley unto that of the west, for it was impossible it should reach any further.

"And this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun . . . The cloister had pillars¹³⁶ that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall . . . And the thickness of each pillar was such that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral¹³⁷ at its base. And the number of all the pillars [in that court] was a hundred and sixty-two. Their capitals¹³⁸ were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused amazement by reason of the grandeur of the whole.

"These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet. But the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other and the height was

131. *Ibid.*, XV, XI, 1.

132. βασιλείου στοάς.

133. στοαίς.

134. στοὰν ἔχων διπλήν.

135. βασιλείων στοὰν.

136. κίονες.

137. διπλῆς σπείρας.

138. κιονοκράνων.

double, for it was much higher than that on each side, but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures."¹³⁹

There could be no clearer depiction of stoa cloisters than this given by Josephus in his description of the temple of Herod, which he himself saw. They were sheltered promenades supported by rows of columns and a wall. Noteworthy is the fact that the middle interval was wider and its roof higher than those on the sides. They were thus basilicas minus one side wall.

Stoas Cover all Passage Ways of the Temple Mount

REFERENCE 27:

"They said once to Honi Ha-Meaggel:¹⁴⁰ Pray, in order that rain shall come down! . . . He then made a circle and stood within it and said: O Lord of the Universe, thy children turned their faces toward me, for I am on familiar terms with thee! . . . Rain then came down in a regular manner, so that [the children of] Israel went up [on account of it] from Jerusalem to the Temple Mount . . ."¹⁴¹

Temple Mount Roofed

REFERENCE 28:

"[This proves the statement]: The Temple Mount was roofed, and it was also taught: an (e)stoa within a stoa."¹⁴²

Temple Mount a Stoa Within a Stoa

REFERENCE 29:

"Said Rehaba on the authority of R. Judah:¹⁴³ The Temple Mount was [surrounded by] a double stoa.¹⁴⁴ We have likewise learned in a Baraitha: it was called Istevanith, a stoa within a stoa."¹⁴⁵

The Roof of the Stoa and its Size

REFERENCE 30:

"If the [temple] curtain has contracted uncleanness . . . it is washed . . . and if it was a new one it is spread out to dry on the roof of the stoa¹⁴⁶ in order that the people should see how beautifully it was made, . . . The length of the curtain was forty cubits and its width twenty cubits."¹⁴⁷

Lulabim Kept on Roof of Stoa

REFERENCE 31:

"When the first day of Tabernacles is due Sabbath [when carrying things is forbidden, the worshippers] bring their *lulabim* [palm branches] to the temple mount [for the next day's services] and the superintendents receive

139. Josephus, *Antiquities*, XV, XI, 3.

140. A saintly person, famous for his alleged seventy-year-long sleep, during which the second temple was destroyed.

141. Jer. Taanith, III, 9.

142. *Idem*, Gemara.

143. Rehaba of Pumbeditha, star pupil of R. Judah, who lived in the early part of the second century.

144. *STIU kaful*.

145. Pes. 13b.

146. *'ISTBA*.

147. Mishnah Sheqalim 8, 4.

them and arrange them on the stoa¹⁴⁸ roof¹⁴⁹ . . . Next day the superintendents throw them [the *lulavim*] before them to be caught by them."¹⁵⁰

Signals Given from Roof of Stoa

REFERENCE 32:

"R. Judah said further: Two loaves of thanksgiving bread¹⁵¹ that were made unfit [by having been kept over night from the previous day] were placed upon the roof¹⁵² of the stoa (*iṣṭaba*) [on the last day before Passover as a signal to the public for the approach of the holy day]. As long as [they were seen still] resting [there] the entire people [knowing that the Passover holy day had not yet begun] were eating [leavened bread, which is strictly forbidden as soon as Passover sets in]."¹⁵³

The Temple Stoa Was Paved with Graven Stones

In its struggle with the gross idolatry of those times Mosaic law forbade the presentation of any images, especially in stone. In Lev. xxvi, 1, we read,

REFERENCE 33:

"Neither shall you place any figured stone (*eben maskit*) in your land, to bow down unto it; for I am the Lord your God."

The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, an ancient Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch, renders this verse with an interpolation:

"Neither shall you place any figured stone in your land to bow down unto it, *except a stoa engraved with pictures and images*¹⁵⁴ you make in the pavement¹⁵⁵ of your temple, but not to bow down to them, for I am the Lord your God."

Rashi to the same verse states: "for they covered the earth with a stone pavement." The statement of the Targum is based on a tradition found in the Talmud:

REFERENCE 34:

"We have learned [in a Baraita that the verse] Neither shall you place any figured stone in your land to bow down unto it [means] you are forbidden to bow over it [i. e., over figured stone only when it is] in your land [outside of the temple] but you may bow over the [graven] stones of your temple [pavement]."¹⁵⁶

The "graven stones," of the temple stoa might have been either figures laid out in colored mosaics on the floor, as used in Pompeii, or a *pavimentum sculpturatum*, where the stones are engraved, the hollows filled with black mastic. It might also have referred to the bases of columns sculptured with human figures, as at the two temples of Ephesus.¹⁵⁸ When bowing to the Lord in the temple the worshippers

148. See note 146.

149. *gav* in the sense of *gag*. It must have been the roof, as from there they were thrown to their owners.

150. M. Sukkah 4, 1.

151. *halui todah*.

152. *gav*, but in Pesahim 13b, in the Mishnah text and Tosefot Yom Tov a. 1, *gag*.

153. Mishnah Pesahim 1, 5.

154. *beḡiurin vedeioḡkanin*

155. *be'ar'it*.

156. Megilah 22b.

157. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.

158. *Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

bowed, unwillingly, to the forbidden images which must have been introduced into the stoas by Herod. The rabbis were forced, therefore, to find a mitigation for this challenge to the tradition of temple architecture.

Double Stoa as Synagogue in Tiberias

REFERENCE 35:

"Said R. Haggai:¹⁵⁹ I used to go down to the double stoa¹⁶⁰ of Tiberias and listen to the voices of the little children in the synagogue who would pronounce blessing in unison saying: Thy testimonies are very sure."¹⁶¹

A Stoa Fenced on Both Sides

REFERENCE 36:

"A stoa which is fenced on this and on the other side and [leaves] a space between the columns . . . Says R. Judah: If one standing on one side can see those entering and leaving through the other side it is considered private ground for [the laws of] Sabbath and public ground for [the laws of] uncleanness."¹⁶²

This quotation can mean either that two walls enclose lengthwise the columns of the stoa or that only the lower interspaces of the colonnades have been fenced.

The Stoa not a Residence

REFERENCE 37:

"The stoas are not considered as residences of pagans (and we do not suspect that they buried there their aborted children and thus made the ground unclean)."¹⁶³

A Window Opening into a Stoa

As stoas were, sometimes, merely covered streets in the East, the following can be well understood:

REFERENCE 38:

"When a window opens [from a house] into a stoa,¹⁶⁴ it has been made only for the purpose of receiving light [and the window owner cannot use it for any other purpose]."¹⁶⁵

A Stoa neither Private nor Public

REFERENCE 39:

"The sea, the valley, the *karmelith* [i. e., a marked-off plot in a public thoroughfare], a stoa, and a threshold are neither private property [Rashi: for they are not fenced off] nor public property [Rashi: for they are not as desert routes]."¹⁶⁶

159. Flourished in Tiberias, Palestine, in the fourth century.

160. *DIPLIA STIA*, from the Greek *διπλή στοά*.

161. Psalms xciii, 5. Midrash Tehilim, 93, 8.

162. Tosefta, Teharot, 7. See above p. 27 and Ref. 14.

163. Mishnah Ahilot 18, 9: Tosefta 18.

164. *ISTIV*.

165. Jer. B. Bathra III, end.

166. *Idem*.

Stoa as Passageway from Private Store to Market Place

REFERENCE 40:

"The rabbis taught: If one carries [on Sabbath] from a store to a *platea* [i. e., market place] through a stoa [one] is guilty [of a breach of the Sabbath law not to carry from one ground to another, the connecting stoa not being considered as a link that makes the store and the market place one and the same ground]."¹⁶⁷ "If one throws [an object on Sabbath] from a store to a *platea* through the stoa he is not guilty of a breach of Sabbath rest."¹⁶⁸

Store Opening into a Stoa

REFERENCE 41:

"A store that opens into a stoa . . . or into public ground . . ."¹⁶⁹

[In the case of] stores [of two stories] that open into a stoa [if the ceiling of the lower story breaks and has to be restored] the lower [tenant] gives [the price of the rebuilding of] the ceiling, and the upper [tenant] gives [the costs of] the *astracos*.¹⁷⁰

A Stoa on the Top of a Stoa

If the stores had two stories, the stoa into which they opened must have also consisted of two stories. We even find a definite statement about it elsewhere:

REFERENCE 42:

"If one built a stoa on the top of a stoa¹⁷¹ [between two courtyards] . . ."¹⁷²

A Stoa of Two Columns

REFERENCE 43:

"[The verse] He [Solomon] made the pillars thereof of silver¹⁷³ refers to the silver pillars that stood before him in the form of a stoa."¹⁷⁴

"Said R. Brechiah:¹⁷⁵ [The verse]¹⁷⁶ We will make thee borders of gold with studs of silver refers to the two pillars of silver that stood before him in the form of a stoa."¹⁷⁷

A Stoa of One Column

REFERENCE 44:

"And when she [i. e., Queen Athalia] saw, behold, the king [Jehoash] standing on a pillar, as the manner was."¹⁷⁸

"And the King [Josiah] stood on a pillar and made a covenant before the Lord."¹⁷⁹

In both of these translations the accepted English versions read "by the pillar"

167. Sabbath, 5b.

168. Tosefta Sabbath, 11.

169. Tosefta, Moed Katan II.

170. *maaziva*, i. e., the clay flooring. Tosefta B. Meš'ia II.

171. 'iṣṭaba 'al gabe 'iṣṭaba.

172. Erubin 77b.

173. Cant. 3, 10.

174. *keen ISTAWAH*. Nu. Rabba 12, 4.

175. An Amora of the fourth century.

176. Cant. I, 11.

177. *ISTWN*. Cant. R. a. I.

178. II Kings xi, 14.

179. *Ibid.*, xxiii, 3.

instead of "on the pillar" as the literal meaning of the Hebrew¹⁸⁰ demands. But the Targum to those places reads "stoa"¹⁸¹ instead of "pillar."

Public Stoa Built from Confiscated Funds

REFERENCE 45:

"Oftentimes [when] a man who is rich and derives a great income from usury dies childless his capital is confiscated by the [state] treasury. What is this capital used for by the king? For the building of pedestals, public baths, stoas, and latrines for the use of the poor."¹⁸²

REFERENCE 46:

"What does the government [of Rome] do with the money [of a usurer who falls into disfavor with her?] She confiscates it and builds with it public baths, stoas, and useful places for travelers."¹⁸³

The Stoa as a Bench

While the Hebrew spelling of the Greek word stoa, as of many other foreign words, approaches almost as many varieties as the spelling of Shakespeare in his alleged signatures, we can safely state that they refer to the architectonic type known by that name.

However, in several rabbinic quotations we unmistakably find the use of the word stoa for a bench.

The Stoa as Seat in a Public Bath

REFERENCE 47:

"Three women who sat on a stone *subsellium*¹⁸⁴ or stoa (*iṣṭaba*)."¹⁸⁵

The Stoa a Seat in a Plaza

REFERENCE 48:

"A stoa (*iṣṭaba*) in the front of the columns [in a plaza] . . ."¹⁸⁶

The Stoa a Kind of Bench

REFERENCE 49:

"Rabba allowed [during the semi-holiday] to comb horses, to build a *grabatus*¹⁸⁷ and a stoa (*iṣṭaba*)."¹⁸⁸

REFERENCE 50:

"Rab Naḥman said to R. Judah:¹⁸⁹ Let my master be seated on a *grabatus*.¹⁸⁷ Answered R. Judah: [Why do you use the word *grabatus*?] Is it improper [to use] *subsellium*¹⁹⁰ employed by the rabbis or *iṣṭaba* as used by the common people?"¹⁹¹

180. 'al ha'ammud.

181. ISTWNH. The septuagint to 11, 14 renders ἐπὶ τοῦ στύλου and to 23,3—πρὸς τὸν στύλον.

182. Rabba 31, 11.

183. Midrash Tanḥuma, Mishpaṭim.

184. SFSL.

185. Niddah 9, 2.

186. Sabbath 7a.

187. KRPITA.

188. Moed K. 10b.

189. Rabba in Babylon of the third century.

190. Flourished in Babylon in the third century.

191. Kēdushin 70a.

REFERENCE 51:

"When a dead corpse is in a house the high priest is not allowed to enter it, but when a menstruous woman is in a house he may enter and [even] sit with her on the same stoa [*iṣṭavah*] [without fear of contamination]." ¹⁹²

"[The laymen who held the sacrificial blood in vessels] fulfilled the function of a bench [*iṣṭavah*]." ¹⁹³

The Stoa a Raised Walk

REFERENCE 52:

"And how could the priests walk [in the temple when carrying parts of the sacrifices to the altar without drenching their garments on the bloody pavement]? They walked over the *iṣṭabi*." ¹⁹⁴

The Stoa a Seat in the Front of a Store

REFERENCE 53:

"If a camel laden with flax passes a public thoroughfare and its flax reaches into a store, gets ignited from the storekeeper's candle, and puts the whole section on fire . . . Says R. Judah: If there was before it [i. e., the store] a stoa ¹⁹⁵ he [the storekeeper] is acquitted." ¹⁹⁶

RÉSUMÉ

After our survey of the Bible, the works of Philo and Josephus, the Mishnah, the Gemara and their contemporary Midrashim and Targumim, none dating later than the fifth century A. D., we have attempted to present to the student of ancient classical and Near Eastern architecture additional materials on the history of the basilica and the stoa. As our translations are made from the original sources and are literal (our own explanations being always placed between square brackets), the reader has the opportunity to make his own classification and reach independent conclusions.

However, it might be worth while now to summarize in brief the results of our searches in the ancient Jewish literary sources.

From the twenty-three references to the basilica we have learned that there is a great likelihood of King Solomon's armory having resembled a basilica (Ref. 1), while rabbis who visited the ruins of Susa in the third century (Ref. 4) described also the palace of Xerxes as a basilica (Ref. 2).

Eyewitnesses have also testified that the edifice of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem that stood there in the time of Jesus, and its contemporary synagogue in Alexandria were basilicas. (Refs. 6, 7, 8.) Synagogues of the first centuries unearthed recently in Galilee also display basilican features, which goes to prove that the Early Christians, who were mostly Jews, adopted the basilican style of their churches from the Jewish prayer houses rather than from the pagan basilicas of Rome.

192. Midrash Tan. Mezora' 18. The Mss. has *iṣṭaba*.

193. Yoma 49a.

194. Zebahim 35a; Pesahim 65b. The Jer. Pesahim has *MSTIOT*.

195. *IṢṬIORIN*, unusual.

196. Tosefta B. Kama 6, 28.

The basilican type of architecture was used for a variety of buildings: royal palaces, state treasuries, public baths (Ref. 10), courthouses for capital offences (Ref. 11), prisons (Ref. 13), and market places (Ref. 21). Basilicas are mentioned in the description of Gadara, Hamath, Ashkelon, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Jews also possessed basilicas privately, for secular uses (Ref. 23). The basilica was often known also as forum (Refs. 17 f.) and double stoa (Ref. 7). We learn about its double entrances (Ref. 14), its wide nave used as public thoroughfare (Ref. 20) and its apsidal forms (Refs. 5, 6).

From the thirty references (Refs. 24, 53) to the stoa we have learned that according to trustworthy tradition the stoa was an integral part of the architecture of the temple of Solomon (Refs. 24, 25) and of Herod (Ref. 26). All the passageways on the Temple Mount were covered by stoas (Refs. 27, 28), while the precinct of the temple was known as a stoa within a stoa (Ref. 29), having pavements decorated with images of questioned permissibility (Refs. 33, 34).

The roof of the temple stoa was sometimes used for the drying of laundered curtains (Ref. 31), for temporary storage of palm branches (Ref. 31), and for signals (Ref. 32).

Stoas covered public thoroughfares (Ref. 40) and were sometimes built in two stories (Ref. 42), into which two-storied store buildings opened, making the ancient Jewish business sections quite crowded and lively.

The name stoa (or its derivative) was later also given to raised platforms of one or two columns each (Refs. 43, 44), and to seats and benches in public places (Refs. 47, 48), and in private houses (Refs. 49, 50, 51), thus causing much confusion among the commentators of the Talmud.

The above facts, besides being of interest by themselves, might help us to understand more clearly the forms and the uses of the ancient basilicas and stoas, extant or mentioned by ancient authors, throughout the extent of the ancient Roman empire.

"UGOLINO LORENZETTI"

BY MILLARD MEISS

SOME time ago Mr. Berenson brought together, under the name of "Ugolino Lorenzetti," a group of Sieneese paintings of the fourteenth century.¹ A few years later Mr. DeWald included six of these nine paintings in his reconstruction of the "Master of the Oville Madonna."² These two reconstructions contained works of considerable historical importance, and the problem of their inter-relationship has in the last few years engaged the attention of every student of Sieneese painting. Critical opinion varies from acceptance of Berenson's group, or acceptance of DeWald's, to denial of the unity of either.³

Because the two reconstructions were built around different paintings, students have tended to overlook the fact that six works are common to both. But these six works define a personality very clearly, and at the same time they reveal it in a great variety of aspects. The panels that are generally believed to differentiate the Berenson and DeWald reconstructions do no more, I think, than embody two of those aspects. And the paintings that I wish to add to this *oeuvre* will, I hope, help to establish the single authorship of all these works by giving us a more complete knowledge of the master's evolution.

Mr. Berenson believed that the style of his painter was formed by the two masters Pietro Lorenzetti and Ugolino, whose names he combined in "Ugolino Lorenzetti." Mr. DeWald, on the other hand, considered the Oville master to be a follower of Pietro alone, and the three works of Berenson's group which he excluded from his reconstruction are the earliest and most Ugolinesque. This exclusion and the narrower view of the master

1. *Ugolino Lorenzetti*, in *Art in America*, 1917, pp. 259-275; 1918, pp. 25-52. Berenson's list is: a triptych of which the Madonna is at Fogliano and the two saints in the Siena Academy; a polyptych in the ex-refectory of S. Croce, Florence; a Crucifixion in the Berenson collection; the Fogg Museum Nativity; the Gardner Museum tabernacle; the Chiaramonte-Bordonaro polyptych; the Johnson panels; four saints in the Museo Civico, Pisa; and the Louvre Crucifixion.

2. *The Master of the Oville Madonna*, in *Art Studies*, I, 1923, pp. 45-54. See the restatement of this, with the correction of a misleading typographical error, in *Art Studies*, VII, 1929, pp. 154-156. DeWald rejected the first three paintings of Berenson's list, and to the remaining six added: in the Siena Academy, No. 59 St. Gregory, No. 61 Assumption, No. 76 Madonna, No. 80 Madonna; the S. Pietro Oville Madonna; the Grosseto Duomo and Griggs Madonnas.

3. R. Longhi, in *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 43, wrote that the Nativity of the so called Ugolino Lorenzetti seemed to him to be nothing other than an early work of Bartolo di Maestro Fredi. A. Péter, in *Balzana*, I, 1927, No. 2, p. 93, in a review of DeWald's study, said that the Oville Madonna and the Fogg Nativity could not be by the same hand, and that therefore the works grouped around each should be kept separate. R. Van Marle, *Development of the*

Italian Schools of Painting, II, 1924, pp. 113-125, 608; V, 1925, pp. 456-458, writing shortly after DeWald, accepted Berenson's reconstruction and refused DeWald's. F. M. Perkins, in *Balzana*, II, 1928, No. 4, has expressed a more guarded opinion. On p. 111 he speaks of the "personalities that pass to-day under the name of 'Ugolino Lorenzetti.'" On pp. 113-115 he says that he agrees with the principal thesis of DeWald's study. But "Ugolino Lorenzetti" is still "problematic, and not yet completely defined." Like Mr. Perkins, C. Weigelt has not reached definite conclusions, and speaks of the problem in rather general terms. In *Sieneese Painting of the Trecento*, New York, no date (1930), pp. 44-45 and note 34, he seems to have accepted the Oville Master (though he does not make clear whether or not he agrees with DeWald's inclusion of all the six paintings of Berenson's group), and he says that the "step from him to the so-called Ugolino Lorenzetti is a short one." But "criticism has not yet said its last word on the relationship between the so-called Ugolino Lorenzetti and the Oville Master."

Emilio Cecchi, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, Milano, 1930, pp. 30-34, concludes that although the works gathered together by Berenson and DeWald reveal the presence of an assistant in Pietro's shop, the impossibility of defining adequately this subordinate personality will not allow us to award him an independent existence.



FIG. 1

Lucca, Pinacoteca: Madonna and St. John, from Polyptych once in Monastery of S. Cerbone, near Lucca,
by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

Rome, Sterbini Collection (formerly): Saints from Polyptych once in Monastery of S. Cerbone, near Lucca, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"

seem to me erroneous. It is difficult to understand how one could reject those paintings—the S. Croce and Fogliano polyptychs, the Berenson Crucifixion—and at the same time accept the Palermo polyptych, which shows the very closest affinities with them. Nor can DeWald's Ovile master be considered a follower of Pietro alone, for that same Palermo polyptych embodies characters which derive from the Ducciesque-Ugolinesque, certainly pre-Lorenzettian, tradition.

The paintings composing both the DeWald and Berenson groups⁴ disclose a single purposeful personality revealed at varying intervals of time. The revelations are, indeed, very wide formal variants, since the master developed under several external influences, but they all betray a fundamental psychology, visual and manual habits which must be the exclusive complex of an individual. The temperament of this master is altogether different from that of Pietro or Ugolino. They are fervent, uncompromising, and they command the imagination by their dramatic intensity. "Ugolino Lorenzetti," however, projects a world of graceful and unimpassioned romanticism. His shy Virgins and saints enjoy a life that is without exigencies, beyond the necessity of decision and action. Gracious and sentimental, they are preoccupied with a reverie in which the life lived in reminiscence is too long past to be poignant, and desire too vague and irrational ever to know disappointment. Their composure does not proceed from confidence in their command of experience, but is the result of a complete withdrawal from it. They avoid contacts with other figures and with objects, as though these would be impositions upon their timeless musing. The Virgin, aware of the Child as a remote idea rather than as a physical presence, despite their close relation in the design, holds Him with hesitant hands that seem to shrink from touch. And with what passive indifference the saints receive into their fingers the traditional symbols!

4. The damaged Griggs Madonna is weaker than the others, and is probably not by the master himself. DeWald (*loc. cit.*) believed that the Coronation at Montepulciano and the Nativity at Barnard Cloisters were stylistically related to the Ovile Master. I see no notable resemblances. The partly repainted Coronation at Montepulciano seems to me to be by Giacomo di Mino, and the Nativity at Barnard Cloisters very close to Bartolo di Fredi.

Of the paintings which have been added by other critics to the Berenson and DeWald groups, only the following are, in my opinion, acceptable: the Lehman Madonna (F. M. Perkins, in *Art in America*, 1920, p. 287; to the "Master of the Fogg Nativity"), the Historical Society triptych (R. Offner, in *Art in America*, 1919, pp. 193-197) and the Cologne Madonna (R. Offner, in *Wegweiser durch die Gemälde-Galerie des Wallraf-Richartz Museums*, Cologne, 1927, p. 66). Beyond these, no two paintings attributed to the master are by the same hand. R. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, 1924, pp. 113-125, 608, ascribed to "Ugolino Lorenzetti" four paintings: a diptych at Utrecht, No. 34 at Siena, a Mater Dolorosa in a private collection, No. 1094A in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (as the work of a follower). More recently, but not more happily, he has added a pinnacle, showing the Crucifixion, in the Stoclet Collection (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, XIX, 1926, p. 5). The Kaiser Friedrich Museum Nativity has recently been attributed

to the master himself by P. Hendy (*Burlington Magazine*, LV, 1929, pp. 232-238), along with other equally unacceptable paintings: the Lehman St. Peter, which is by Lippo Vanni, and the Madonna No. 1710 in Berlin. The Lehman Sts. Matthew and Thomas, first given to "Ugolino Lorenzetti" in the *Lehman Catalogue*, 1929, No. XXXI, and accepted by Hendy, seem to me to be works produced in his shop. Mr. Weigelt, *op. cit.*, p. 74, note 34, has rejected Hendy's attributions, including, apparently, the Lehman saints. "The only one [of Hendy's attributions] which has any relationship to the so-called Ugolino Lorenzetti," he says, "is the Birth of Christ in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (1094A)." This Berlin panel is, in my opinion, the work of a satellite of Lippo Vanni, whose work I intend to publish shortly.

Mr. Berenson, like Hendy, confused the style of "Ugolino Lorenzetti" with a style very close to Lippo Vanni when he ascribed to his master the Crucifixion No. 165 at Göttingen (*Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Göttingen, 1926, p. 53). This panel has the same gold border as the Death of the Virgin, No. 59 at Altenburg, correctly attributed by Mr. Berenson to Lippo Vanni. The haloes in the two are very similar. The Göttingen panel is 26 cm. high, and the Altenburg 27 cm. (*Beschreibender Katalog*, Altenburg, 1915, p. 55). They may well, then, be parts of the same predella.

The glance of the eye wanders beyond the immediate situation. The upper lid droops languorously over the iris, half concealing it, veiling its meaning. The mouth is pursed, ineffectual. And how appropriate to the mood of the figure is the quality of the form! Muffled in part by an abundance of loosely wrapped drapery, it seems to swell slowly, indecisively, to the limits defined by a slack contour. It is soft, inert, and it has no weight.

To the *oeuvre* of "Ugolino Lorenzetti," distinguished by these characters, and by others more particular that follow, I wish to add a polyptych, two panels of which, the Virgin and Child and St. John the Evangelist, are at Lucca (Figs 1, 2),⁵ hanging above the name of Deodato Orlandi. The other three parts, representing St. Bartholomew, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Catherine of Alexandria, were once in the Sterbini collection at Rome (Figs. 3, 4, 5).⁶ The shape of the frames of these Sterbini panels, their dimensions, proportions, and gold borders correspond exactly with the Lucca St. John. The haloes of the former, divided into a broad middle field spotted with small ornamental designs, and two narrow bands of five-petaled rosettes, are reproduced to detail in the halo of the evangelist. Add to these correspondences the like crackle of the gold, the similarity between the designs painted in the spandrels of the St. John panel and those in the

5. P. Campetti, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca di Lucca*, p. 13, gives the measurements: .92 x .65 m. for the Madonna No. 41, .74 x .42 m. for the St. John No. 42. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, V, 1925, p. 279, believed them to be Lucchese under Siennese influence. This study was in the hands of the editor when Mr. Perkins, in *La Diana*, 1931, fasc. II, p. 95, attributed these two saints to an anonymous Siennese painter very close to "that mysterious personality called Ugolino Lorenzetti."

6. The measurements: .75 x .42 m., .75 x .41 m., .75 x .60 m. (this 60 is obviously a typographical error) are given by A. Venturi, *La Galleria Sterbini*, Rome, 1906, p. 33, and Nos. 6, 7, 8. He attributed them here and in *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 427, and *Storia dell'Arte*, V, 1907, p. 696, note I, to Pietro Lorenzetti. DeWald in *Art Studies*, VII, 1929, p. 160, note 2, ascribed them to a follower of Segna di Bonaventura. Both Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 326-330, and Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 7, pls. 7, 8, 9, attributed them to Pietro's early manner, that is, before his first dated work of 1320. To this early period Van Marle ascribes also the Ovale Madonna and the two enthroned Madonnas in the Siena Academy. That this early dating is highly improbable can be shown on the evidence of the haloes alone.

The larger haloes of Duccio's Maestà of 1311 have a hatched ground. The ornamental motifs, the surfaces of which are left unworked in order to contrast with the striated ground, are marked out by tooled, incised lines. This type of aureole had been popular in Siena from about the time of the painting of the Rucellai Madonna, and, with the notable exception of Ugolino, is used by the followers of Duccio. The haloes of Simone Martini's 1320 panel in Pisa are of a very different make and character. Instead of hatching, the ground is marked by innumerable small circular punchings. Instead of the tooled figures, we find stamped motifs. This method imposes certain limitations on the designs, which are necessarily more rigid, more geometrical, whereas tooling permitted elaborate and fanciful floreate figures. The stamped aureole appears in all the paintings of Simone and of his followers. So far

as I am able to recall, no painter of his school returns to the earlier Ducciesque type, examples of which become increasingly rarer.

But to return to the Lorenzetti, Pietro, in the 1320 Arezzo polyptych, employs a Ducciesque halo, with hatched ground and tooled foliate design. The smaller haloes, like those of Duccio's Maestà, are tooled with single-line arabesques on an unworked ground. Ambrogio, in the Madonna of Vico l'Abate, dated 1319, uses the same type. In Pietro's next dated work, the 1329 S. Ansano à Dofana panel, the aureoles are in the main stamped, with punched ground. After the 1319 and 1320 paintings no dated work by either of the Lorenzetti has the Ducciesque halo. The fashion in Siennese haloes changed in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century, and the beautiful workmanship and design of Simone introduced, or at least popularized, the new mode. Pietro used the new aureole after 1320, perhaps first in 1329. Only a few masters, older pupils of Duccio, continued to use the Ducciesque type after that time.

None of the paintings attributed by Van Marle and Cecchi to Pietro's early manner has tooled haloes with hatched ground. If they were by Pietro, this evidence, then, would commit them to a date later than the 1320 polyptych. (Not being by him, the general trend in Siena indicates that they are probably no earlier than the middle twenties.) There are a number of paintings generally attributed to Pietro which show the Ducciesque halo: the enthroned Madonnas of the Johnson Collection and Cortona Cathedral, and the Montichiello—LeMans—Horne polyptych. I have not been able to examine the haloes of the Cortona Crucifix. The aureoles of the S. Stefano, Castiglione d'Orcia Madonna have been repainted, but a Ducciesque type seems to be discoverable beneath the overlying smear. If these paintings are by Pietro, their type of halo would argue for them a date possibly earlier than 1320, and probably not later than 1329.

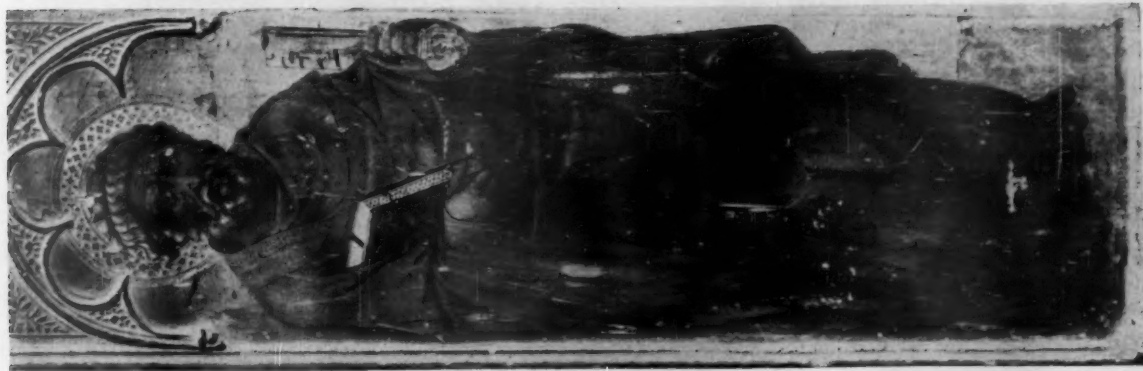


FIG. 6

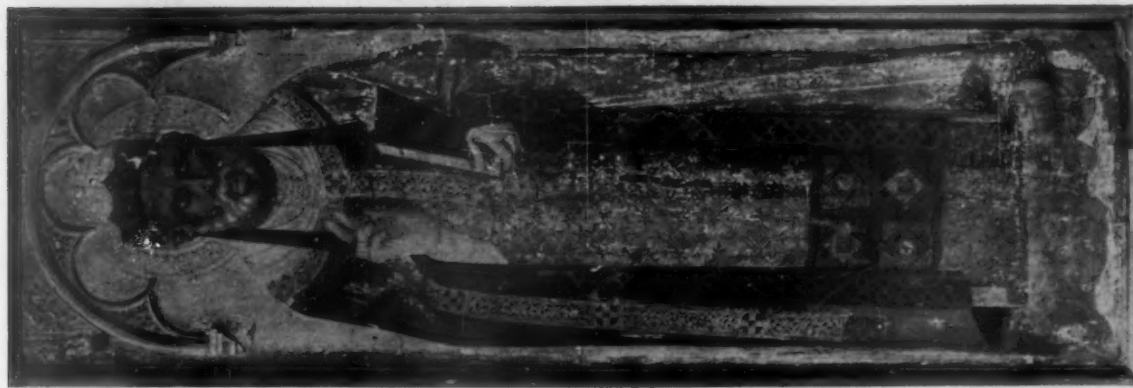


FIG. 7

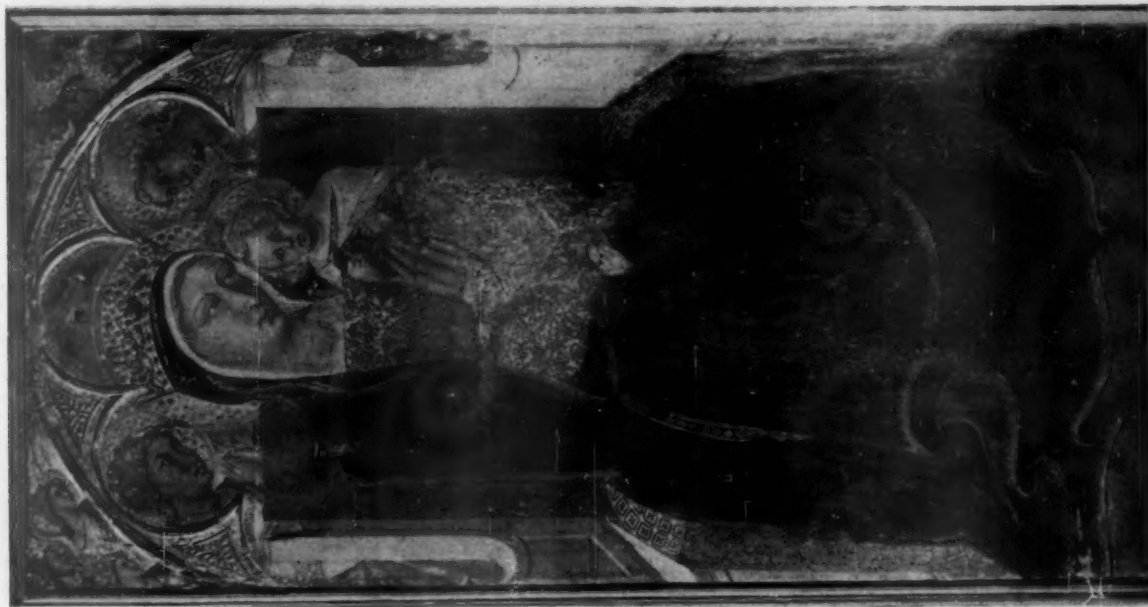


FIG. 8



FIG. 9

Sienna, Academy (Figs. 7, 8); Florence, Uffizi Restorer's Room (Figs. 6, 9): Panels from Polyptych, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"



FIG. 10

Siena, Church of S. Pellegrino



FIG. 11

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum

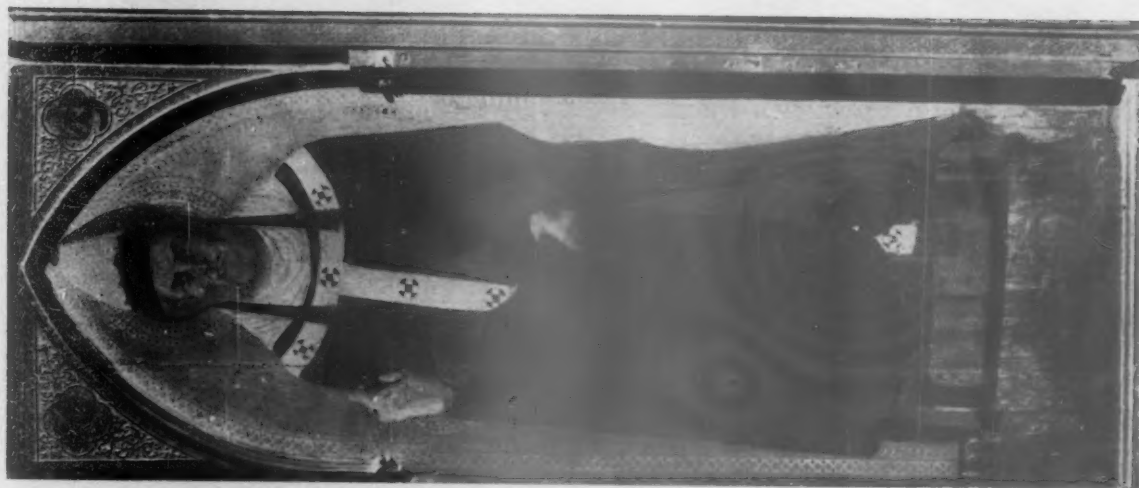


FIG. 12

Panels possibly originally in a Single Polyptych, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"

spandrels of the other three saints, and the conclusion that these five parts once stood in the same polyptych seems undeniable. The last doubt, due probably to differences of state, is removed by an early eighteenth century description of the complete altarpiece. The two panels now at Lucca came to the gallery from the monastery of S. Cerbone,⁷ and Padre Antonio da Brandeglio saw, in 1706 or earlier, in the chapel of that monastery, " . . . una devotissima imagine di Maria Vergine col Bambino al collo e i santi Giovanni, e Bartolommeo Apostoli, S. Maria Maddalena e S. Catarina Vergine e Martire dipinti in tavola. . . ."⁸

The gentle reverie of the saints and even of the Virgin is undisturbed by the impetuous action of the Child, Who (as in the Griggs and Historical Society pictures) wide-eyed, wondering, innocent, endeavours to understand the meaning of her dream, to dispel it with the suggestion of His nearness. The masks of the Madonna and of St. Mary Magdalene issue from the same image that shaped those of the Virgins at Fogliano, S. Croce (Fig. 18), Palermo, and the Fogg Museum. The uncommonly long and straight nose passes into the forehead with no depression at the bridge. The eye, with a lingering memory of Duccio's sentiment, has a large iris loosely confined by the lids. The long right hand of the Virgin, idly insensitive to function, is the hand of St. Catherine of Pisa, of the Madonnas of the Griggs Collection and Fogliano. In all of these the lower fingers fold under the upper. The face of the Child, completely round, with wide-open eyes, a short brow which curves steeply upwards from the nose, and a mouth set off from the full cheeks by a vertical shadow at either extremity, is a profile of the Oville Child.

Further evidence may be found in the ornament. The main field of the halo of the Lucca Madonna repeats, with the slightest variation, that of the Virgin at Fogliano. And notice the broad borders, filled with graceful linear decorations, which edge so many of the tunics, or the lozenge pattern which adorns the tunic of the Academy St. Gregory (Fig. 7), and which occurs so frequently in the dress and in the drapery.⁹

Mr. DeWald, observing the similarity of the frame of the Madonna No. 76 in the Academy to that of the St. Gregory hanging near by, suggested that these paintings may have been parts of the same polyptych (Figs. 7, 8). Two panels in the Uffizi restorer's room, representing St. Peter and St. John the Baptist (Figs. 6, 9, 13),¹⁰ certainly once stood in a polyptych with the St. Gregory, and they furnish additional evidence for the supposition that the Madonna No. 76 belongs to this altarpiece. The dimensions of the St. Gregory are the same as those of the Uffizi panels. The similarity of the frames extends to the correspondence of the relief ornament in the cusps. The tréflés stamped in the gold ground around its upper edges are alike in all these panels, and like those in the Madonna panel. The halo of St. John the Baptist differs from that of St. Gregory only in so far as the *fleurs-de-lis* are inverted and the large discs have circular punches at their centers. The aureole of St. Peter (Fig. 13), containing discs made with the tool that stamped those

7. Campetti, *loc. cit.*

8. P. Antonio da Brandeglio, *La Vita di S. Cerbone*, Lucca, 1706, pp. 221-222.

Three of the Saints were moved from the church sometime before Cavalcaselle visited it and saw only the Virgin and St. John (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Douglas ed., I, 1903, p. 142, note 15). He recognized the Siennese character of the paintings.

9. This pattern is found in the drapery of: the Madonna and Angels of the Assumption, the Deacon Saint at Palermo, St. Bartholomew at Pisa, the Bishop and Gabriel on the Johnson panel, the Oville Madonna, and in the drapery covering the thrones of the Griggs, Grosseto, and Academy Madonnas.

10. Nos. 6136, 6137 of the Uffizi inventory of 1890.

in the halo of St. Gregory, is exactly like that of the angel in the right cusp of the Madonna panel. The large arch which embraces the five cusps of the Madonna panel has the same profile as the similar arches of the Uffizi panels.¹¹

Each of the Uffizi paintings has a predella, which shows the bust of a saint placed in a quatrefoil. A damaged apostle, No. 75 in the Academy of Siena (Fig. 25),¹² coincides with these predella panels in dimensions, frame, stamping of ornament; and the design of the figure is similar. It belongs, then, to the predella of the ancona. And since the apostle turns to the right, it must have been designed for a position below the St. Gregory.

Neither these Uffizi paintings nor the S. Cerbone polyptych add anything essentially new to our conception of "Ugolino Lorenzetti." Two saints, however, in the church of S. Pellegrino, Siena (Figs. 10, 12, 14),¹³ introduce a fresh tendency, produced by the dominancy of a new influence. The influence of Simone Martini, although present in the works of the Berenson and DeWald groups—and more actively than has been recognized—was nevertheless weaker than that of Pietro and Ugolino. But in these two saints the style approaches him much more closely, and the appropriations from him determine, to a great extent, the total effect. The wavy contours of the figure of St. Paul and the linear rhythms of his drapery issue from remembered assimilations of Simone. From this fluid design the large head (Fig. 14) detaches itself, for it belongs to the older tradition in which our master was first formed. Indeed, the high brows, the fork above the nose, the curved lips, are features of a mask which differs little from those of the bearded saints at S. Croce (Fig. 19). And for further proof of authorship, compare the fingers of his right hand, which, lying flat up to the second joint, bend suddenly and disappear, with the fingers of St. John the Evangelist and the Madonna at Lucca, of the Child at Fogliano, and the saint at the extreme left in the S. Croce polyptych. The small freely painted figures in the medallions could replace the prophets in the spandrels of the Academy Assumption. The haloes of St. Peter and St. Paul are typical of those which grace "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" heads. The large field, dotted with rosettes, rosettes in discs, or *fleurs-de-lis*, is bounded on either side by small bands containing circles.¹⁴ In all the haloes the ground of the main field is made by innumerable small punchings of invariable size and spacing.

Two panels, representing apostles (Fig. 17), share the affinities of the S. Pellegrino saints with Simone Martini, and they resemble them so closely in style as to pass without

11. DeWald was unable to make this comparison because the St. Gregory molding is modern.

12. Attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Douglas ed., III, 1908, p. 107, to the school of Pietro Lorenzetti. Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, 2nd. ed., 1909, p. 188, listed it as a work of Pietro, and Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 330, attributed it to the same master. Perkins, in *Balzana*, 1928, II, No. 5, p. 146, ascribed it to the Master of Siena Academy Nos. 59, 61, 76, 80. Both Cecchi, *op. cit.*, pl. 135, and Giulia Sinibaldi, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XXIII, 1929, p. 388, ascribed it to Pietro Lorenzetti with question.

13. Langton Douglas, in his edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, III, 1908, p. 131, note 3, attributed them to a follower of Paolo di Giovanni. Perkins, in Olcott, *Guide to Siena*, 1924, p. 480, note B, classified them as

school of Lippo Memmi. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 248, note I, believed them to be of the school of Simone Martini.

Dr. Richard Offner very kindly called my attention to these two paintings, and to the Madonna in a private collection, Siena Academy Nos. 72 and 74, the S. Bartolomeo and Cologne panels.

14. The *fleur-de-lis* in St. Paul's halo occurs in the following haloes: St. Bartholomew at Pisa, St. Gregory in the Academy, the Virgin and the Child at Grosseto, Sts. Catherine, Mary Magdalene, and Bartholomew of the S. Cerbone polyptych. The double circle enclosing a five-petaled rosette in St. Peter's halo occurs, always of the same size and make, in: the haloes of the Child and St. John of the S. Cerbone polyptych, of St. George at Pisa and the Griggs Virgin, and in the crowns of the Ovile, Palermo, and Academy No. 80 panels.



FIG. 13—Florence, Uffizi Restorer's Room: Detail of St. Peter
shown in Fig. 6



FIG. 14—Siena, Church of S. Pellegrino: Detail of St. Paul
shown in Fig. 10



FIG. 15—Sestano, Church of S. Bartolommeo: Triptych, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti" (Photo. Courtesy of the Frick Library)

difficulty into the master's *oeuvre*.¹⁵ Once in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum at Cologne, their present whereabouts is unknown to me.

Partly Simonesque also are three panels, representing Sts. Peter, Paul, and John the Evangelist, in the little church of S. Bartolommeo a Sestano, not very far from Siena (Fig. 15). The linealism is freer and much more lively than in any other of our master's paintings. See how the line flows and swirls in St. Peter's drapery, how his right hand and St. Paul's are drawn into the rhythmic phrases. The working of the gold in the haloes and borders is, too, somewhat unlike that in "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" panels. And in the eyes of St. Paul and St. John there is a determination, a self-possession, that you will find in no other of his figures. But, beyond these differences, everything in the paintings betrays our master's hand. The design is his, the color, technique, types, and hands are his. The fall of the drapery of St. Peter, its weight and texture, could have been painted by no one else. Compare the St. Paul, feature for feature, with the St. Paul at S. Pellegrino (Fig. 14). The St. Peter here and at the Uffizi disclose a similar, convincing relationship.

Two small panels by our master in the Siena Academy, Nos. 72 and 74, are so deeply Simonesque that they have recently been claimed for Lippo Memmi (Fig. 16).¹⁶ The face of St. Peter in its breadth and squareness resembles the St. Peter at the Uffizi. The hair of the crown, beard, and brows is disposed in curling locks, and the opaque lights are laid with crisp accent over the dark ground. This, and the wide spacing of the modeling strokes in the flesh and drapery, are characteristic of "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" manner of painting throughout his evolution. Notice how soft the enamel of the St. Peter seems, how suffused the light, how radiant its sheen. Compare St. Paul at S. Pellegrino or the angels in the Fogg Nativity.

A similar luminous quality of surface still remains, despite abrasion, in a St. John the Baptist in the collection of Mr. Henry Harris, London (Fig. 20). His somber, frowning countenance, darkened by a mass of serpentine hair, may seem more awesome, more severe than other masks by our master. But here is the same timid gesture, the evasive glance, the unemphatic statement of the form. And compare the manner of disposing the drapery over the arm, especially the short, looped folds, with that of St. Bartholomew in the S. Cerbone polyptych. The fingers of his right hand fold over the scroll as St. John's at Lucca over the book. The construction of Mr. Harris's saint, however, is rather loose, and it seems very likely that shop hands are responsible for the painting.

A St. Francis in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne (Fig. 21), reveals "Ugolino Lorenzetti" in his most lyrical moment. Turned at three-quarter, the figure gently withdraws, with the beautiful reticence of humility, from the Madonna or the Saviour that once occupied a central pinnacle. The pose, the face, the spread of the fingers of the right hand, recall the St. Francis at S. Croce. And the drapery, with the long thin lights and shadows characteristic of the Ducciesque tradition, stands stiffly away from the neck in both.

The last of the panels to find their way into the group are two small pinnacles, representing Moses and Daniel, in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Esztergom, Hungary. Of these I am unfortunately unable to offer reproductions.

15. I know these panels only in murky photographs, one of which I reproduce here. These photographs give almost no indication of the state of the gold, nor of the shape of the frames. The labeling appears to be modern. The figure reproduced is not St. Paul. The enamel of both panels is very much damaged.

16. E. Jacobsen, *Sieneische Meister des Trecento*, Strasburg, 1907, p. 35, believed them to be near Simone. Perkins in *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, IV, 1908, p. 54, attributed them to a close follower of Lippo Memmi; in Olcott, *op. cit.*, p. 387, note A, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, p. 45, and in *Balzana*, 1928, II, No. 5, p. 145, to Lippo Memmi himself.

The shop of "Ugolino Lorenzetti," the popularity of which may be estimated by the number of extant works of the master, undoubtedly harbored a number of assistants and imitators. To the hand of one of these may be attributed a Madonna in private possession in Genoa (Fig. 28),¹⁷ to another a Madonna in the late Mr. Daniel Guggenheim's collection (Fig. 26), and to a third a damaged polyptych which I saw in the office of the "Soprintendenza" in Siena in 1928.¹⁸ In the two Madonnas appear all of our master's most distinguishing habits; in both, for example, the Virgin's headkerchief is plaited and pulled taut over the shoulder towards which the head inclines. But a lack of conviction in the statement, and an unknowing use of the line reveal the hands of close assistants.¹⁹ Similar weaknesses lead me to deny a small Virgin and Child, the half of a diptych, in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam (Fig. 27), to the master himself, although even the poor photograph here reproduced, in which alone I know the painting, shows how very close to him it comes.²⁰

Much of the tempera of Siena Academy No. 54 has fallen away, but what remains still shows many of the characters of "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" style (Fig. 24).²¹ The Christ may be compared with the Christ of the Louvre Crucifixion. The body tapers, here as there, from shoulders to feet, and the drapery, disposed in similar fashion, is caught low on narrow hips. But in the Siena panel the flesh is softer, and lies more loosely over the skeleton. The hand of an assistant betrays itself in this, in the slippery, smoky character of the enamel, and in the expressionless eyes of St. Catherine, the Madonna, and the Magdalene.

Mr. Berenson, employing a method chiefly archaeological, ordered the nine paintings of his reconstruction between about 1325 and 1335, and he believed that these works represented one period of the master's development. He placed the early works in the sequence: S. Croce polyptych, Fogliano triptych, Palermo polyptych; and this order is, I think, the right one. I cannot follow him, however, in the disposition of the later paintings, nor in the

17. Claimed for "Ugolino Lorenzetti" several years ago by G. de Nicola in an unpublished statement.

18. The polyptych represents the Madonna (lower part of the panel cut off) and the standing saints Michael, Bartholomew, and Jerome. It may be the polyptych from Seggiano mentioned in *Balzana*, I, 1927, p. 283.

19. In the Seminario of Pienza is a Madonna which once stood upon the altar of the chapel, but now, replaced by another panel, it has been removed to one of the rooms of the convent. Although the surface has been entirely daubed with an ugly reddish paint, this barbarity has not concealed all evidence of its authorship. The design, which resembles that of the Lucca Madonna, the hands and fingers of the Virgin, the haloes, with *fleurs-de-lis* and circle-rosette figures, are all significant. The kerchief of the Virgin is plaited, and her mantle falls straight from the right side of her head. These peculiarities, considered as a sum, together with the original character of the masks, which seeps through the overlying smear, point to the ambient of "Ugolino Lorenzetti." A cleaning might reveal it to be by his hand. Photograph Alinari, No. 32795.

20. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 370, note 2, ascribed it to Pietro. A small panel in Mr. Berenson's collection shows a composition quite like this one. The similarity extends even to a detail so characteristic of "Ugolino Lorenzetti"

as the curiously bent fingers with which the Virgin holds the book.

21. St. Catherine turns from the Crucifixion, and St. Anthony Abbot from the Madonna. In the original polyptych they must have stood on the other side of the central panel. Inasmuch as St. Mary Magdalene and the saint placed above her turn in the same direction, this work was very likely a polyptych, of which the two right leaves have disappeared. Perkins, in *Balzana*, II, 1928, No. 4, p. 111, attributed it to "*una delle personalità che passano oggi sotto il nome di 'Ugolino Lorenzetti.'*" Weigelt, *op. cit.*, p. 74, note 34, believed it to be very near a master who is, apparently, Berenson's "Ugolino Lorenzetti" much reduced. He refers (as did Perkins, *loc. cit.*) to Van Marle, in *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1923, p. 565, who there attributed to "Ugolino Lorenzetti" a Crucifixion, No. 54 in the Siena Gallery. In Van Marle's *Development of the Italian Schools*, II, published a year later, the Crucifixion No. 54 is, however, not included among his attributions to the master, while a Crucifixion No. 34 is. And further, No. 54 is, elsewhere in the volume (p. 426, note I), attributed to the school of Ambrogio. The "54" in the *Bolletino* would seem, then, to be a typographical error, and this assumption is further strengthened by the description of the painting.

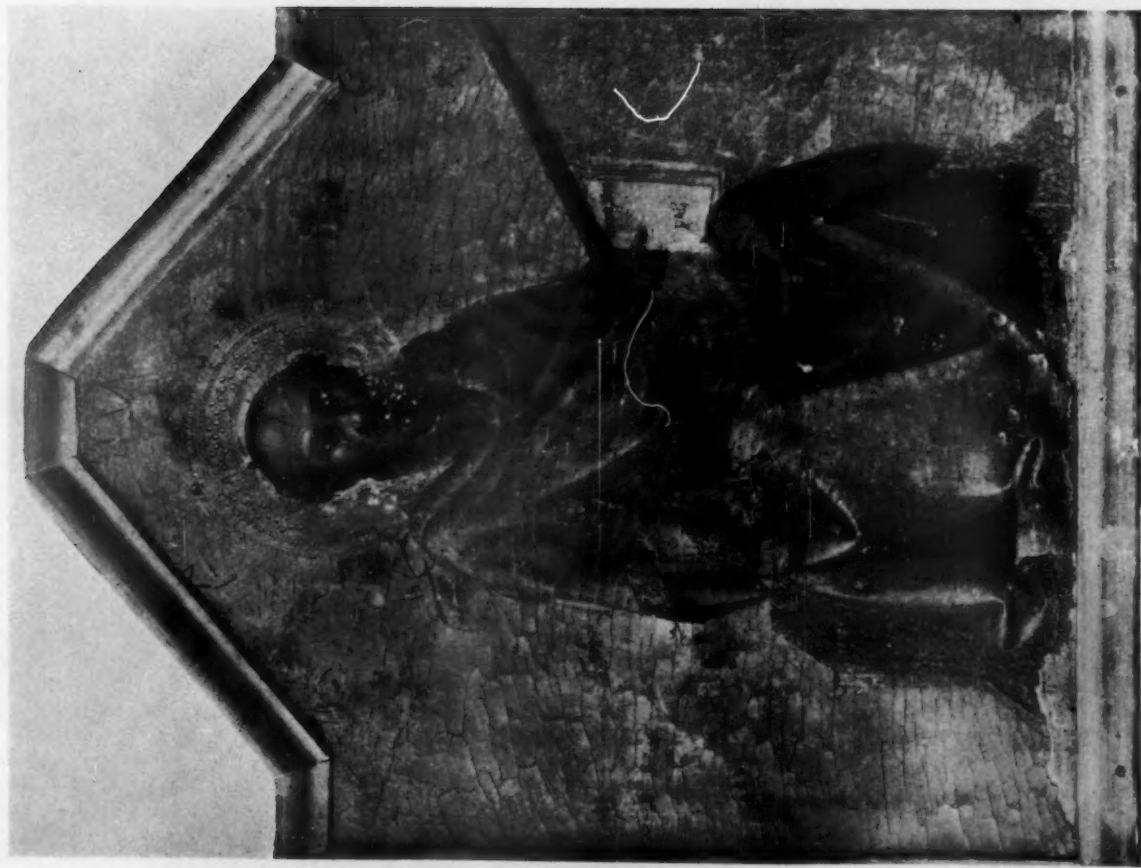


FIG. 16—Siena, Academy: *St. Peter* (No. 74),
by "Ugo Lorenzetti"

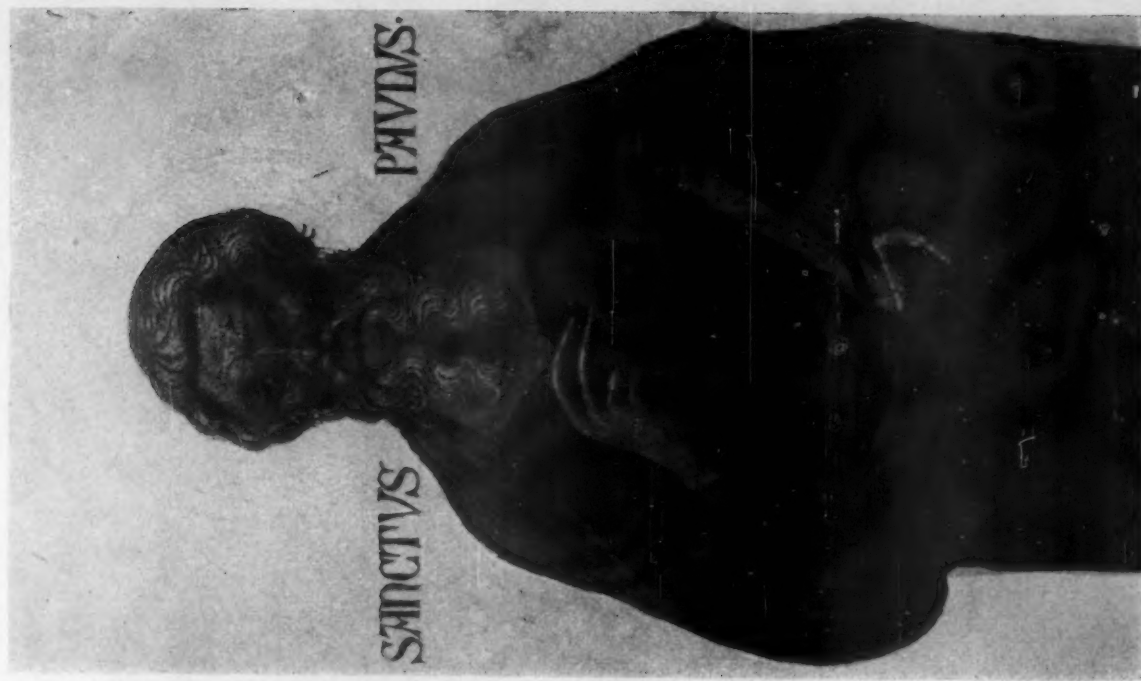


FIG. 17—Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum (formerly):
Apostle, by "Ugo Lorenzetti"



FIG. 18

Florence, S. Croce: Details of the Madonna and St. John the Baptist, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"



FIG. 19



FIG. 20—London, Collection of Mr. Henry Harris: *St. John the Baptist*, by the Shop of "Ugolino Lorenzetti"

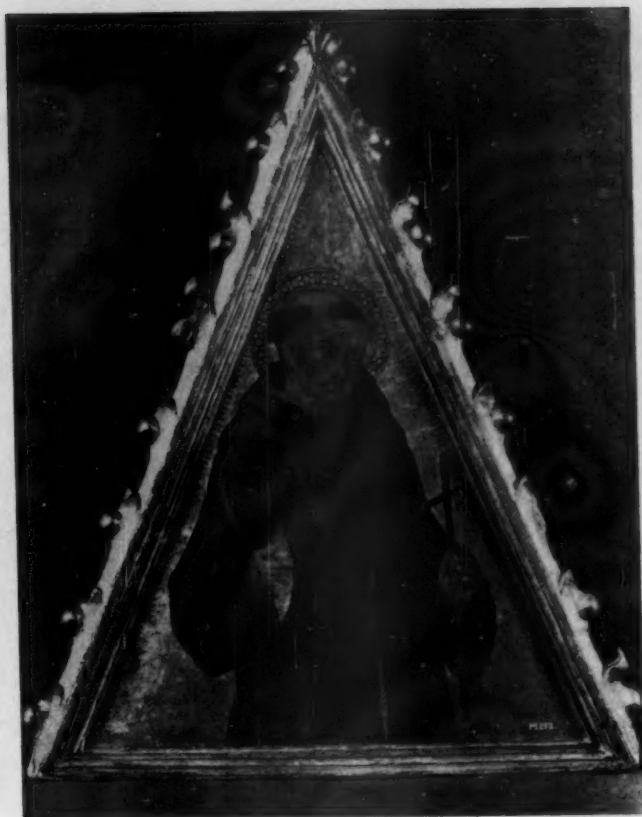


FIG. 21—Cologne, Schnütgen Museum: *St. Francis*, by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"



FIG. 22—Siena, Academy: *St. Ansanus* (No. 42), by "Ugolino Lorenzetti"



FIG. 23—Siena, Academy: *Detail of the Assumption* (No. 61), by "Ugolino Lorenzetti", assisted



FIG. 24—Siena, Academy: *Polyptych (No. 54)*, by the Shop of
"Ugolino Lorenzetti"



FIG. 25—Siena, Academy: *Apostle (No. 75)*, by the Shop of "Ugolino
Lorenzetti," from the *Predella of the Polyptych* by "Ugolino
Lorenzetti" partly shown in Figs. 6-9

assignment of works so varied in style to the short span of ten years. The Pisa saints, whether they be wholly by the master or not, seem to me to be the latest of his group, later—considerably later—than the Fogg Nativity, which he placed last.

Of all "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" paintings, those that differ most widely show a stylistic variation approximately as great as that between the early and late works of other Trecento masters. We may, then, conclude with some justice that these works were painted near the beginning and near the close of his career. The variation that may here be used as a criterion is not that due to varying fashion, to modified intention, to the imitation of different artists, but, rather, that produced by intrinsic changes in the personality, by growth and senescence. In the early Fogliano triptych, for example, the St. Ansanus (Fig. 22) is young, arrogant, idealistic. The form is tightly built and solid. In the late Assumption (Fig. 23), on the other hand, it is dilated, flaccid. The rhythms have become languid, the constructive energy has diminished. The master's hand tends to prolong mechanically each line, each movement. Even the features betray this tendency. The face is more oval, an uninterrupted ellipse; the eyes and brow are rounder, the mouth fuller. All shapes approximate the circular.

These natural changes, inherent in the development of a personality, are, in the instance of "Ugolino Lorenzetti," closely related to those produced by a modified intention, for imitation of the Lorenzetti resulted in an expansion of the early Ducciesque form. And, on the other hand, the looseness produced by advanced age is difficult to distinguish from that due to the intervention of assistants. In the later works, especially in the Pisa saints and in the Assumption, these factors can be only partly resolved.

Such works as the S. Ansano and the Assumption are near the poles, and they indicate the nature and direction of stylistic evolution. With this knowledge it is possible to map out, in a general way, a chronological order. The earliest paintings are the polyptychs at S. Croce, Fogliano, and Palermo, painted, probably, in that order. To this group belong also the S. Cerbone altarpiece and the Cologne St. Francis. The St. Francis appears to be almost as early as the S. Croce polyptych, and the style of the S. Cerbone altarpiece places it between the S. Croce and Palermo polyptychs. It is possible to arrange these altarpieces in a relatively exact order because they are all half-length polyptychs, and so in every respect comparable. Thus the relative lateness of the Palermo altarpiece is betrayed, beyond fundamental stylistic considerations, by such particulars as the Madonna's tunic, which, unlike the others, is decorated, and has a stamped border. Her headkerchief is not waved in the Ducciesque fashion of the others, but hangs straight along with the hood at the left side of the head, and at the right is pulled tightly down over the shoulder.

Young Sienese masters who had not yet acquired a reputation very often sought work beyond Siena's walls. Pietro Lorenzetti's early paintings are in Arezzo and Cortona, and Ambrogio's at Vico l'Abate. It is interesting to observe that the four earliest of "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" known altarpieces are at Fogliano, Lucca, S. Gimignano, and Florence.

While it is evident at once that these paintings closely resemble works of the late Ducciesque tradition, the mask, in which lurks a dark intensity that is not really expressed, and such particulars as the bent thumb and curling forefinger, reveal that it was Ugolino in particular who first influenced the master. A work of Ugolino's school at S. Lorenzo, Monterongriffoli, shows, perhaps more clearly than the panels of the master himself because it is later, how much our painter owes to him. Later works often contain

Ugolinesque characters woven into a Lorenzettian or Simonesque context. Such recrudescences are the features and forward thrust of the head of the shepherd in the Fogg Nativity, and the airy tread of two soldiers in the Louvre Crucifixion.

While the Simone-like works at Sestano, S. Pellegrino, and the Siena Academy may be said to represent a phase of the master's style, they do so only in respect to this influence, and not because they fall into a chronological period. Intervals of various lengths seem to separate their painting. An inclination to imitate Simone appears in the earliest works, and Simonesque characters creep into the style while it is still fundamentally Ugolinesque, as in the Sestano panels. Both the S. Pellegrino saints and the Sts. Peter and Paul in the Academy are later, and the latter probably as late as the Fogg Nativity. The Madonna in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum at Cologne (Fig. 11)²² is closely related to these works. Indeed, the correspondence of the haloes and the borders to those of the S. Pellegrino saints, and the close stylistic resemblances, invite the conjecture that this panel once stood in a triptych between those two saints.²³

In imitation of the Lorenzetti, the figure, in the earlier works, acquired bulk and some weight. It expanded first within a Ducciesque mold and design, so that while the plane of the gold remained that of the frame, the form was projected forward from it, and extended laterally over the borders. But, with the ascendancy of Lorenzettian influence around 1340, the figure moves backward into space, and the gold tends to lose its function as a defining plane. To this space the form bears only a casual relation. And the spatial implications, carried over from a Lorenzettian example, are only partially fulfilled, as in the Fogg Nativity. They are qualified and compromised by the profuse use of ornament, the trappings of Simone's art.

From about 1340 on the master follows Pietro Lorenzetti alone. His style, therefore, seems less variable, and the changes are less overt. He assimilates not only Lorenzettian forms, but also that soft, luminous enamel that is characteristic of Pietro's later works, and which is used as well by other followers of that master, especially Lippo Vanni. In the paintings that belong to this later half of "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" career, such as the Fogg Nativity, the Academy-Uffizi polyptych, the Pisa saints, and DeWald's relatively homogeneous group, the surfaces glow with a suffused light. Of these works, the Fogg Nativity is probably the earliest, and the Uffizi-Academy polyptych could not have been painted long after it. The latest works are probably the Assumption and the Madonna No. 80 in the Academy, and the Oville panel. These must bring our master down to the sixties, at the very least. Their style resembles that of Lippo Vanni's triptych of 1358, and Giacomo di Mino's altarpiece in the Siena Gallery, dated 1363.²⁴

22. The state of this Cologne panel is more misleading than that of any other work by "Ugolino Lorenzetti." The entire surface has been rubbed and smudged. The restorations seem to be of various dates. The mantle of the Madonna has been completely repainted, and its clumsily ornamented border is, all too insistently, modern.

23. The Madonna has been cut down. What remains must be a little less than half the original in height, and a few centimeters less in width (cut at both sides). The panel at present measures 79 x 61 cm., and so the original was probably around 165-185 x 65-75 cm. St. Peter measures 164 x 58 cm., and St. Paul 160 x 60 cm. (without

the attached pieces). For these measurements I am indebted to Miss Helen Franc.

24. This article was in the press when Mr. Andrea Péter's essay, *Ugolino Lorenzetti e il Maestro di Oville*, in *Rivista d'Arte*, XIII, 1931, n. 1-2, pp. 1-44, reached me. This is the most thorough study of the problem that has yet appeared, and it deserves a fuller and more detailed criticism than I am able to give it here. The reader will see that I am in agreement with several of Mr. Péter's observations, but I find his chief thesis and argument—the attribution of "Ugolino Lorenzetti's" works to two masters—wholly unacceptable. Like DeWald, he does not



FIG. 26—Port Washington, L. I., Collection of Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim: *Madonna*, by the Shop of "Ugolino Lorenzetti"

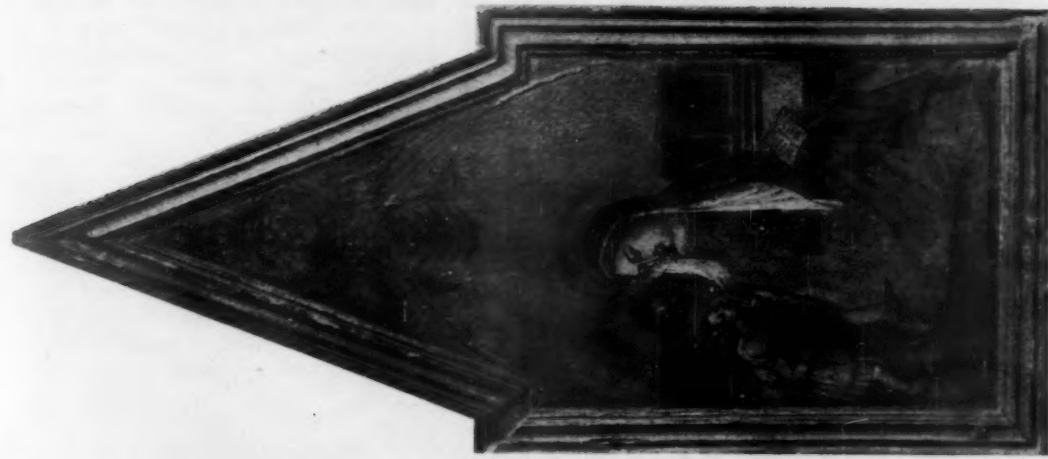
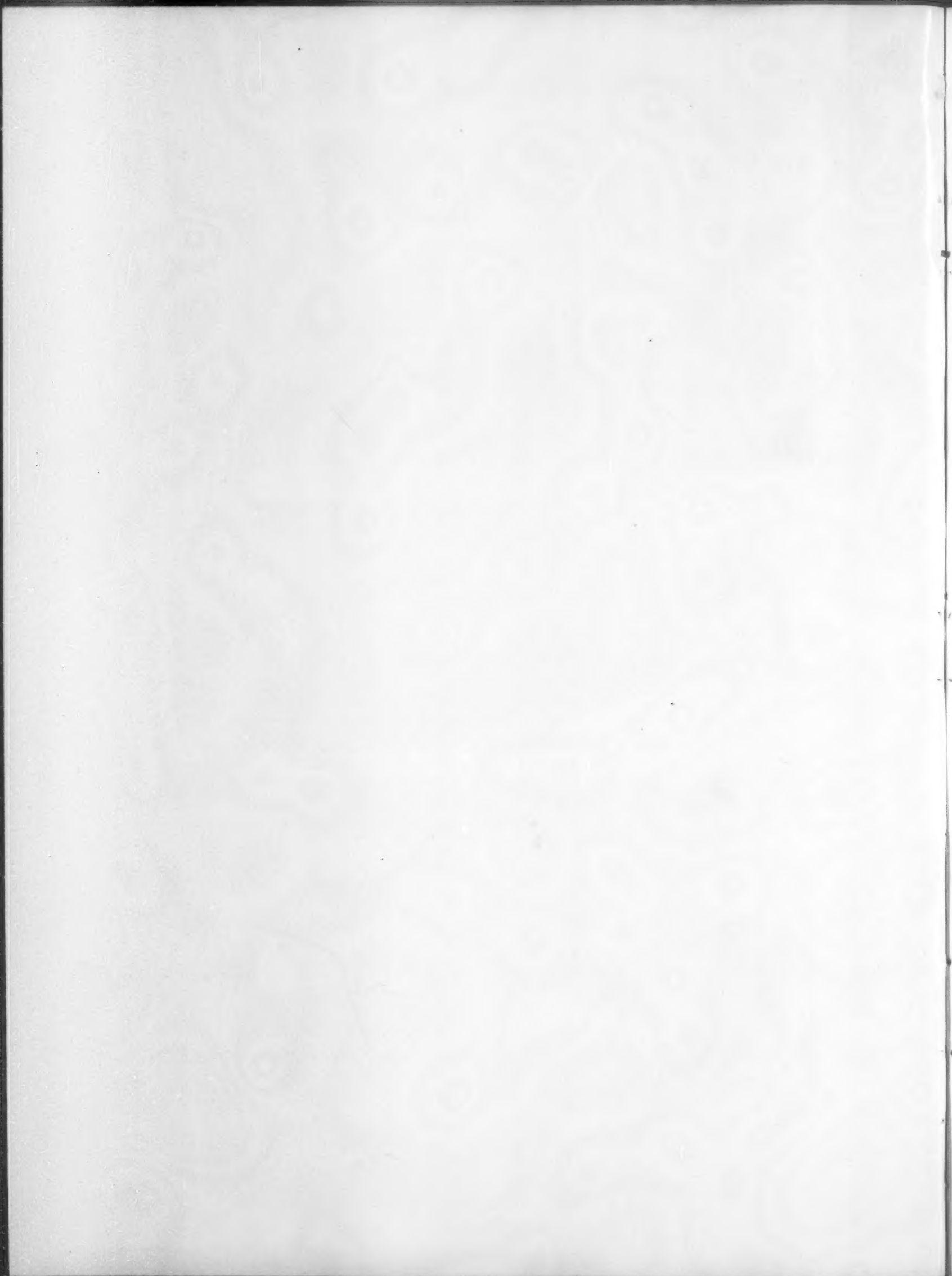


FIG. 27—Amsterdam, Collection of Dr. Lanz: *Madonna of Humility*, by the Shop of "Ugolino Lorenzetti"



FIG. 28—Genoa, Private Collection: *Madonna*, by the Shop of "Ugolino Lorenzetti"



distinguish differences of style from differences in the successive stages of the master's evolution. He does recognize, however, that the Palermo polyptych shows as many obvious affinities with the early panels as with the late, and in order to account for this double relationship, he departs from DeWald's grouping, and proposes a collaboration of the two masters, "Ugolino Lorenzetti" and the Ovile Master, in that polyptych and in the Fogg Nativity. To his "Ugolino Lorenzetti" he gives the S. Croce and Fogliano polyptychs, the lower half of the Fogg Nativity, the Louvre Crucifixion, Siena No. 34, the Lehman Saints, and the Pienza Madonna. To the Ovile Master he attributes the upper half of the Fogg Nativity (the cherubs, angels, and God the Father) and the other works of DeWald's group. He believes that the Christ Child and Sts. Dominic and John the Baptist in the Palermo polyptych are by "Ugolino Lorenzetti," whereas the Virgin and the panels on the right are close to the Ovile Master.

Mr. Péter characterizes the work of "Ugolino Lorenzetti" as tighter in form and more severe in expression than that of the Ovile Master; and to illustrate these qualities of "Ugolino Lorenzetti," he refers to St. Francis and the bearded saints in the S. Croce polyptych. What is sombre and intense in these figures is due, in my opinion, chiefly to the influence of Ugolino; but the mild, timid personality of "Ugolino Lorenzetti" impresses itself unmistakably on these borrowed forms. In the predella and pinnacles of this polyptych are small figures that are more freely painted, and therefore may be taken as more representative of the painter's own genius, and so it is illuminating to observe how close their style is to that of the Siena Academy Madonnas. It is true that the form is tighter in the S. Croce and Fogliano alterpieces than in the later Ovile group; the explanation of this difference I have attempted to set forth in the concluding paragraphs of my study.

I can see no ground whatever for the assumption that there are two hands in the Palermo and Fogg Museum alterpieces. The latter is one of the master's best works, and is of a uniform quality throughout. Mr. Péter goes so far as to attempt to distinguish two styles in the center panel of the Palermo polyptych. He finds the Madonna close in style to the Ovile Master, and the Child close to

"Ugolino Lorenzetti." Even the haloes, he says, are different. They seem to me no more unlike than the haloes of the Virgin and Child in other panels. And the quatrefoil in the Child's halo is repeated in the dress of the Madonna. The character of both these haloes is like that of the other early works. And even if the Madonna and Child were by different painters working together, why should the tooling of the haloes be different?

Mr. Péter gives to one or the other of his painters a number of the works that I attribute above to "Ugolino Lorenzetti." He brings together the S. Cerbone polyptych, attributing the Madonna and St. John to "Ugolino Lorenzetti," and the other three saints to the Ovile Master. He gives the Pienza Madonna to "Ugolino Lorenzetti" definitely, even though it is completely repainted. The Guggenheim Madonna he gives to the Ovile Master; in my opinion it is only a shop work. The Esztergom saints he attributes to the Ovile Master, and Siena No. 54 to an assistant.

Finally, in addition to finding Mr. Péter's conclusions untenable, I cannot agree with him in the following particulars:

1. Siena No. 34, attributed by Van Marle to "Ugolino Lorenzetti" in *Development of the Italian Schools*, II, p. 121 (and also if, as I have inferred, the 54 should read 34, in *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1923, p. 565) is given to "Ugolino Lorenzetti" by Mr. Péter. As I have said above, this painting seems to me to have nothing whatever to do with the group of works under consideration.

2. Mr. Péter says that the Ovile Master was active from ca. 1330 to ca. 1350. He correctly observes that the Assumption in the Academy is one of the latest works, and that more than one hand painted on this panel. But the assisting hands worked in a style very close to that of the master, and nowhere can I see, as he does, a departure nearly so wide as to suggest a style resembling that of Fei. And, further, the Ovile Master was working later than 1350, as I have shown above. The decorative elements alone indicate that.

3. Péter believes the Cologne Madonna to be a late work. Its poor state may have led him into this error. It is, with all probability, earlier than the Academy and Ovile Madonnas.

REVIEWS

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DURA-EUROPOS, Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. October, 1928-April, 1929. Edited by P. V. C. Baur, and M. I. Rostovtzeff. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931. xix, 225 pp.; LIII pls., small quarto.

The campaign whose results are described in this volume completed the excavation of the Palmyrene Gate, of the Tower and Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, explored the ruins of the two successive citadels, and uncovered a shrine built by Roman troops, and a bathing establishment. The artistic finds were not great. Some faience reliefs; interesting graffiti illustrating the equipment of Parthian foot soldiers and cavalry; silver jewelry, including a fibula of that trapezoidal shape whose disappearance toward the end of the second century was Ingholt's chief criterion for dating the Palmyrene female busts on which it appears; an altar set up to Iarhibol by a certain Scribonius Mucianus; and the wing of a wooden triptych painted with a figure of Victory standing on a globe and holding a wreath, in the act of crowning the divinity which occupied the central position of the triptych shrine, which portion, together with the other wing, was not recovered. This panel was found in the northeast room of the north tower of the Palmyrene Gate, in which was a small niche that was evidently the shrine of the Tyche of Dura, a shrine which inscriptional evidence shows was installed by the Roman garrison of occupation in 165 A. D. The curiously stylized figure represents a provincial version of the Victory type as employed at Palmyra in the well-known frescoes of the "catacombs." Rostovtzeff dates the panel in the second half of the second century A. D.

The most important finds are epigraphical. Jotham Johnson, who with Clark Hopkins edits the inscriptions, identifies a date of 183-2 B. C. in an inscription of the south wall of the passage of the Palmyrene Gate—the earliest dated epigraphic record as yet found at Dura. The close of the city's history is fixed by Johnson on other epigraphic evidence at 272 A. D. That the era used at Dura was the Seleucid, as Cumont believed, was confirmed by a dated horoscope found on the wall of a house east of the Temple of Artemis, which can be fixed between July 3-5 and July 10-12 of 176 A. D. Other important records are: the inscription mentioning the earthquake of 160 A. D.; an altar dedicated by the Sagittarii of the second cohort of the Ulpian legion; and the inscription on a storage jar which adds the name Patrokles, and another generation, to the family of Conon, son of Nikostratos, the dedicant of the famous frescoes whose discovery by Breasted initiated the exploration of the site. This inscription confirms Cumont's dating of the frescoes at c. 65 A. D. and incidentally confirms the existence at Dura of the cult of Apollo. Additions to our knowledge of Dura's internal administration are also furnished by the inscriptions: *πυλωρός* appears as a customs official, and

we learn that the functions of *ἐπιδάτης* and *στρατηγός*, the one a police magistrate, the other a civil administrator, while probably combined in one person in the Parthian period, were separated under the Romans. A dating criterion has emerged in the older form of *μνησδελος* used in the earlier graffiti, for which *μνησδῆ* was later substituted. The appearance of the form *μνησδελος* in the graffiti of the tower of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, together with other evidence, leads Hopkins to conclude that this tower marked the location of an old shrine of especial sanctity, which explains the construction of the temple near it, and also according to him the inclusion of the spot within the circuit of the city's walls.

The date of this circuit is a question on which the students of Dura are still at odds. Hopkins concludes that the *enceinte* dates about the beginning of the Christian era, though the fortification walls of the citadel are probably of the Parthian period after 150 B. C. Johnson seems to incline to a Hellenistic dating; he also demurs from Pillet's opinion that the south tower of the Palmyrene Gate was destroyed by the earthquake of 160 A. D.; a coin of Antioch of the third century found in the tower shows that it was still then in use. The epigraphic finds were rounded out by the discovery of a number of inscriptions on the Safaitic alphabet, increasing the range over which this South Arabian language has been located to its farthest north.

Other noteworthy discoveries were: a shield made of wooden rods threaded through rawhide (about 5 ft. in length); a very large number of coins, whose publication is postponed for a later date; and a parchment contract of loan dated A. D. 121, showing a curious arrangement whereby the debtor gives his services in lieu of interest on a loan of 400 drachimas, with his property, both present and future, as security. The pottery, studied by Clark and Susan M. Hopkins, reveals the ceramic history of Dura as mainly a gradual elbowing out of the Hellenistic black and red glazed vessels and Megarian bowls by Iranian faience in the first century A. D., which was joined probably in the Roman period, by a brittle, generally ribbed ware used especially for kitchen containers; a more or less permanent substratum is constituted by the characteristic "timeless" yellow ware of Mesopotamia.

The editors are to be congratulated on their collaborators, whose work is exceedingly careful and scholarly. While Breasted and Cumont may be said to have skimmed the cream at Dura, the present volume furnishes indispensable connections to both, and rounds out in numerous ways the picture which Cumont constructed with surprising exactitude, of this outpost of Hellenism whose cultural absorption by Mesopotamia and Iran was as gradual and inevitable as its obliteration, from the third century of our era, under the sands of the desert.

C. R. Morey

Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France, au Moyen-âge: XIIe-XIIIe siècles (Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire). By Victor Mortet and Paul Deschamps. xxxiii-407 pp. 8vo. Paris, Picard, 1929.

This volume is complementary to the well-known *Recueil* for the eleventh and twelfth centuries published by Mortet in 1911, an indispensable handbook ever since to the student of mediaeval art. At Mortet's death, in 1914, he left a considerable amount of material for another volume. This material has been augmented by the work of Paul Deschamps and now appears under the above title, conforming in plan and in scholarly worth to the volume of Mortet. It is to some extent a selection, like the volume that preceded it, omitting the longer documents that have been otherwise published, and making choice, in the more extensive material furnished by the Gothic period which it covers, of only the most characteristic and interesting pieces. The geographical limits are those of mediaeval France in its greatest extent, comprising Catalonia and Belgium, and the documents include even those which record the activity of French artists in England, Germany, and Sweden. Like the earlier *Recueil*, the present one is equipped with an *index nominum*, an *index rerum*, and a glossary. The sources recorded are narrative and historical, diplomatic (pontifical and royal decrees, charters, cartularies, etc.), administrative documents (ecclesiastical and signorial), epistolary sources, dogmatic and liturgical writings, inscriptions (Deschamps expresses the intention of making a separate publication of mediaeval architectural inscriptions), construction accounts (numerous from the beginning of the thirteenth century), chansons and literary texts, philosophical and didactic treatises.

The pictures which these documents give of the religious enthusiasm that reared the cathedrals of the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries are remarkably vivid. The popular piety that accompanied the building of Chartres is more or less common knowledge; not so well known is the account of the raising of the money for the rebuilding of Senlis, when the subscription seekers sallied forth over the whole of France, armed with letters patent of the King Louis VII himself: *etenim tenuissimae est substantiae ecclesia—et ob hoc necesse habet ad vestra confugere subsidia*. Bodily service in such building operations was an act of piety that had the highest precedent; St. Louis helped carry the materials for the construction of Royaumont, and made his august brothers do likewise, chiding them when they wanted to sit down and rest.

The divergent opinions of the Cluniac Benedictines, on the one hand, and the Cistercians and Carthusians, on the other, regarding the propriety of rich ornament in churches and monastic architecture come out clearly in the documents. A delegation of Cistercians disapproved, on visiting the Pre-monstratensian abbey of Vicognes near Valenciennes, of the pictures in the refectory; the monks refusing to denude the walls of the refectory, the Cistercians refused further visits.

Among the texts relative to military architecture is an account of the building by the Templars of their fortress of Saphet in the Holy Land, with details of the costs involved, dimensions of every kind, and a clear description of the

self-sufficiency of the place in the matters of food and drink. Many of the documents reflect the anxiety of the king and the greater lords to keep the building operations of their vassals on a moderate scale; Thibaut IV of Champagne, for instance, gives permission, in a text of 1223, to Henri de Mirveaux to construct a fortress, provided the wall of the *enceinte* be not more than 15½ feet high and 2½ feet in thickness. Other documents reflect similar opposition to the fortification of churches and bell towers.

Public works figure largely in the texts. We hear of Philippe-Auguste's sanitary measures for the benefit of Paris, of the hospitals built by St. Louis, the rebuilding of the streets of Chartres at the expense of its bishop. Bridges are frequent objects of administrative action: they were often intrusted as to upkeep to monastic care, and frequently contained a chapel. Domestic architecture is a rarer subject in the texts, but one document describes a country house in England, enumerating its rooms and the furniture they contained.

An early text (1156) is interpreted by Deschamps as referring to the introduction of rib vaulting in the phrase *novo cooperiendi genere et usque ad id temporis in nostris partibus inusitato multumque contra ignem valente, de lapidibus videlicet tenuiter sectis*; the extract comes from the chronicles of the abbey of Saint-Trond, near Liège. The monks of Saint-Ruf, near Avignon, are recorded as traveling as far as Pisa to quarry there the colonnettes of their cloister. A curious chapter is added to Avignon's history in the tale of the youth Bénézet, who came to the town in 1177 declaring that he was ordained of the Lord to build a bridge over the Rhone; he finally succeeded in building the bridge, of which some vestiges still remain, and was interred upon it after his death, besides being ultimately honored as a saint. Works of art are sometimes recorded in the texts dealing with architectural construction: we have thus a noteworthy description of the sculptures adorning the tomb of St. Lazare at Autun, and the notice of the five windows contributed by the wine growers of LeMans to the cathedral of that city.

The title "architect" is a literary term in these documents rather than one in popular use. The more frequent terms are *artifex* and *magister*; if his skill in stone construction is emphasized, he is likely to appear as *cementarius* or *lathomus*; if he is regarded as a wood-worker, the term is *carpentarius*. An architect in general charge of a large work such as a cathedral is *magister operis* (*operum*) or *magister fabrice*. In the south an *operarius*, though this word also connotes artisans below the grade of *artifex* or *magister*, is often the cleric supervising the work; alternative titles are *provisor fabrice* and *procurator operis*. Imported *magistri* seem to have been accorded the comprehensive authority and responsibility of a modern architect. When Raymond the Lombard was intrusted with the building of the cathedral of Urgell, in Catalonia, the revenues of the *opera* were turned over to him on a contract to finish the work in seven years. This was in 1175; in 1281 it is a Frenchman, Etienne de Bonneuil, who has the contract for the construction of the church of Upsala, in Sweden, and recruits a company of *Compaignons et bachelers* to *ouvrer de taille de pierre en ladite eglise*.

The contracts are sometimes very specific. The Count of Dreux in 1224 passed a contract with Master Nicholas for the construction of the Château of Danemarque, in

which accurate dimensions are given for the height and breadth of walls, the delivery of the material by the owner is stipulated, and the over-all price for the work is agreed upon in advance. Other contracts assure to abbots, bishops, or seigneurs, the service of particular craftsmen, such as that of the masons of Nîmes, who received confirmation of their privileges from the Count of Toulouse in 1187 at the price of certain engagements to work for him.

The above data furnished by the documents published in this volume are extracted from Deschamp's introduction to his texts. The real work of interpretation is, however, contained in the admirable notes accompanying the texts themselves, where the high level of Mortet's scholarship is ably maintained by his successor. They are notes, as Deschamps remarks concerning those of Mortet, sometimes more interesting and instructive than the documents they annotate; the two volumes provide fundamental and indispensable source material for mediaeval studies.

C. R. Morey

SAN CLEMENTE (Le Chiese di Roma illustrate, 24-25). By Carlo Cecchelli. 192 pp.; 32 figs.; 3 plans. 12 mo. Rome, Danesi, n. d.

The Clement of Rome who wrote at the end of the first century A. D. an admonitory epistle to the Church of Corinth, is mentioned again as the writer of this letter by Dionysius of Corinth writing to Soteris, bishop of Rome (166-175). Eusebius mentions the Corinthian Epistle (H. E. III, 16) in the fourth century, confirming thus this remarkably early instance of the recognition of the primacy of the Roman See. Around this early Roman bishop, possibly ordained by Peter himself, there was woven in the second and third centuries a romantic tale of an aristocrat, imperially related, baptized by Peter in Caesarea Palestinae and his companion during the apostle's legendary journey through Syria and his struggle with Simon Magus. The outstanding historical fact that seems to emerge from the romance is the connection of Bishop Clement with the imperial Flavian family. But that Clement was not the cousin whom Domitian put to death for "atheism" in 96 A. D. is shown by the style and content of the Corinthian Epistle; the author is of too Oriental a cast of mind, and too well acquainted with Jewish literature, to be aught but a foreigner in Rome, and it is fairly certain that he was living after A. D. 96. The most probable explanation of Clement's connection with the imperial family would consider him a freedman, or the son of a freedman, of the Consul Titus Flavius Clemens, who was Domitian's victim.

The martyrdom of Clement in Crimea is another elaborate tale that nevertheless contains a kernel of historical truth. Certain it is that when Cyril and Methodius, apostles to the Jugo-Slavs, wished to conciliate the Roman See, which objected to the propaganda of Eastern orthodoxy in Moravia and especially to the Slavic liturgy, they brought with them on their pilgrimage to Rome in 868 the relics of St. Clement, which had been procured from the Crimea. These were solemnly received by Hadrian II and deposited in 868-9 in the *titulus Clementis*, the present church of S. Clemente.

The monumental history of the church begins with the inscription on a slave collar of the early fourth century,

requesting the reader to hold the wearer of the collar and return him or her to Victor, acolyte at the *Dominicum Clementis*. The *titulus Clementis* was apparently the only one of the original parishes of Rome to bear the name of a bishop from the earliest days of the church, and the title *dominicum*, attested in the fourth century by the slave collar, combines with the above fact to suggest that the church was the original seat of the Roman bishops that was transferred to the Lateran in the fourth century.

Jerome mentions the church as "exstructa" in a passage that must date before 385. Fragments of an inscription recovered from the lower church record a restoration or enlargement under Siricius (384-399). A council was held in *sancti Clementis basilica* under Pope Zosimus in 417. In the sixth century there was further restoration including the beautiful choir screen of which fragments still remain. The original *titulus* was located in some public building within the area of the lower basilica, and debarred from expansion by a private house containing the Mithraeum which excavations have revealed beyond the apse of the lower church. The interdict of pagan cults at the end of the fourth century closed this sanctuary and allowed Siricius to extend the original basilica in this direction. The destruction of the Coelian region at the time of Guiscard's sack of Rome in 1084 occasioned the building of the upper church, significantly of smaller scale than the lower.

The above resumé summarizes the history of the church, which forms the opening portion of Cecchelli's guide, the most useful monograph on the church which we now have. This portion is followed by an exhaustive bibliography of sixteen pages. The illustrations at the back of the book are *raisonnés*, each with its paragraph or two of description and exegesis, and there is finally appended an epigraphic appendix with sufficient commentary, which includes all the important inscriptions found in or pertaining to the structure. The book is a model of its kind.

C. R. Morey

A SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF TOURS (Studies in the Script of Tours, I). By Edward Kennard Rand. 2 vols. Vol. I, xxxi, 245 pp. Vol. II, 200 pls. Cambridge, Mass., Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929.

The importance of Tours in the history of art and the history of writing is attested by the quasi-simultaneous appearance of the subject of this review, which deals with the script of Tours, and of Köhler's first volume in his series *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, which deals with the ornament of Turonian manuscripts. Of the two directions thus implied in which the scriptoria of Tours made themselves famous, the one explored by Rand is the more important in the last analysis. Surprisingly fine as was the illumination of Tours, the style did not "make school," and it was the vivid drawing of Reims that carried the momentum of the Carolingian period into succeeding centuries. The ornament of Tours, delicately evocative of antiquity, was preserved only in that mixture thereof with Franco-Saxon and other elements which was propagated along with Reims drawing throughout the north of France, in England, in the Low Countries, and beyond the Rhine, by the school of Saint-Denis.

But the writing that was developed at Tours from the end of the eighth century to the middle of the

ninth perfected the norm of what even to-day we consider the proper ideal of clearness and elegance in minuscule script and painting. Its influence standardized the Caroline minuscule and through it achieved a complete reform in writing whose principle of clarity was resuscitated by the Renaissance and preserved for modern printing.

We know little of the scriptoria of Tours before the time of Alcuin and not much more of them after their period of brilliance had passed with the passing of Alcuin and his successors in the ninth century. The dissipation of the Turonian libraries probably began with the religious wars of the sixteenth century. What records we have of the books of Tours in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are generally indicative of local neglect; in the eighteenth century whole cartloads of manuscripts were thrown into the Loire as being mildewed beyond repair! In the nineteenth century, the libraries were pillaged by that enterprising book thief Libri (1803-1869), who occupied the advantageous position of inspector of the provincial libraries of France with authority from the Ministry of Instruction. His method of concealing his thefts was to insert pressmarks of fictitious permanence, adding even the customary curse on whoever should purloin the book—"the only thief in history," says Rand "who wrote his own anathema." His books were sold to the Earl of Ashburnham in 1847; it was only in 1884 that the Laurentian Library recovered the codices that Libri had purloined from Italy, and in 1888 that Delisle succeeded in convincing the heir to the Ashburnham Library that the Libri books must be returned to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

As a consequence of such dispersion, the books of Tours are widely scattered now, from London to Berlin, from Leyden to Rome. Rand's task has thus been an arduous one in completing this *Survey*. His list contains 231 manuscripts, which he assigns to the scriptoria of St. Martin's, St. Gatian, or Marmoutier, and illustrates with 200 plates. The list and the plates cover the history of the script of Tours from the sixth century to the twelfth, beginning with St. Hilary *De Sancta Trinitate* (Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1592), and ending with the Tours Terence which was recently illustrated by L. W. Jones and myself in the plate volume of the *Miniatures of the Terence Manuscripts prior to the XIII Century*. Nevertheless, the interest of our author is mainly in the period that closes with the ninth century, and his work on the later manuscripts has been of more summary character. Not the least valuable of the tables at the end of the book is the fairly long catalogue of rejections.

The evolution of the Turonian script from the end of the eighth to the first quarter of the ninth century is toward the development of what Rand terms the "Regular Style," reaching its height c. 820, and to be generally described as distinguishing, in contrast to the mixture thereof in previous and later periods, the manners of writing handed down from antiquity—capitals, uncials, and semi-uncials—and as banishing cursive forms from the minuscule. At the end of this period of development a new style of ruling came in whereby the leaves were laid with flesh side next to hair side of the vellum, resulting in a uniform convexity of the lines on the flesh side. A simple *q* with a numeral is the characteristic Turonian signature for quires, interrupted for a time by an Insular intrusion of decorative lines or figures on the letters and numerals. The developed style

uses also a regular list of abbreviations which Rand lists (p. 27 sqq.), among which *q n m* for *quoniam* is the most characteristic. *l'* for *-tur* is common from the eighth century to c. 820. It is succeeded and practically replaced by *l'* in the middle of the ninth century, while toward the end of this century the old symbol *l'* became the equivalent of *-tus*. Punctuation, a principal preoccupation of Alcuin, settled down eventually into a "down-up" method, i. e., a low dot for a half pause and a high one for a full period, this being occasioned by the upward line that would accompany the low dot as indicating the sustaining of the voice, and the downward line from the high dot that indicated its dropping.

The St. Hilary *De Trinitate*, which opens the volume of plates, is not necessarily of Tours but is included as typical of the "clear round uncial . . . with rustic capitals for titles and colophons" which was "presumably familiar in Tours in the sixth century." The author is inclined to regard the Ashburnham Pentateuch as a product of Tours of the seventh century, of which more below. Failing that, he has to descend to the eighth century, to the Desnoyers Eugippius and the *Acta Concilii Ephesini* of the Bibliothèque Nationale (lat. 1572) to find illustration for his First Period, and since he promises that the next volume of *Studies in the Script of Tours* will be devoted to these two manuscripts, they and Period I receive a somewhat summary treatment. Period II is characterized by the invasion of Tours by Irish scribes, at a time preceding Alcuin's arrival, who left record of their presence in such things as the introduction of Insular abbreviations. They were active about the middle of the eighth century; in its latter part, but still before the influence of Alcuin was clearly apparent, Rand places Period III, characterized by further restriction of cursive traits as compared with the periods preceding, and by a characteristic *ŋ* with a curved right leg.

Alcuin's time is Period IV. That he was in the habit of supervising his scribes was proved by Beer with reference to the Dagulf Psalter, written while Alcuin presided over the Schola Palatina. This manuscript itself seems to Rand to show some of the tendencies that developed the Tours style, and further interest of Alcuin in elegance of writing may be predicated on his connection with the black marble epitaph sent to Rome by Charlemagne for Pope Hadrian's tomb, and on Alcuin's professed interest in punctuation. His desire for English books for his new abbey at Tours, to which he was appointed in 796, was evidently gratified not only with English books but also English bookmen, if one may judge by the lament that has been preserved to us in the *Vita Alcuini*: "*O Deus, libera istud monasterium de istis Brittonibus.*" In spite of this and other influences the progress during Alcuin's reign at St. Martin's was steady along the direction assumed before, toward a distinctive and understanding evocation of the antique scripts, and a return of the "uncial, after the degeneracy of the seventh century, and the over-elaboration of the eighth, to the simple beauty of the sixth."

An interesting case of coincidence of conclusions based on ornament on the one hand and script on the other, is furnished by one class of manuscript in Rand's Period IV, whose writing he calls embellished Merovingian." The nucleus of the group was formed by Köhler on data furnished by the decoration of the manuscripts he included

in it; the unity of the group in the matter of script was confirmed by Rand. The style is characterized by "entangled beasts or birds in ornamental initials and canon tables, mixed and fanciful majuscules, embellished semi-uncials and embellished cursive." The group can be dated from c. 796 to c. 820. The other division of Period IV reveals the "Regular Style" of Tours, represented by, among other manuscripts, the famous Bibles of Bamberg and Zürich, which Rand places nearer to Alcuin's time than to 820, confirming thus the conclusion of students of the miniatures, which is based on the conformity of the miniatures of the Genesis cycle in the Bamberg codex to the series of Genesis episodes described in Alcuin's verses, and on the medallion portrait in this manuscript which is inscribed "*Alcuinus abbas*."

The perfecting of the "Regular Style" comes in Period V under Alcuin's successor Fridugisus, and is well illustrated by the Grandval Bible in the British Museum. A minute script that Rand has nicknamed "Tiny Tours" comes in this period, first used for those portions of Bibles for which separate texts were otherwise available, i. e., the gospels and psalms, and then extended to the writing of any text where space was a consideration. The period extends from c. 820 to c. 834 and thus sees the introduction of the "New Style" of ruling. The lunar sigma is introduced in the abbreviations for *Jesus* and *Christus*. The name of one of the best scribes of the period is known, Adalboldus, and Rand traces interestingly the development of his script to his later style, where "he liked to kick up his heels and to revert to the ways of his youth," indulging, that is, in excursions into cursive, sprinklings of semi-uncials, and uncanonical abbreviations.

To the mid-century belongs Period VI, and some of the best known illustrated manuscripts of Tours, such as the Vivian Bible (845-851) and the Gospels of Lothaire (843-855). St. Martin's was burned by the Northmen in 853 and this may furnish the lower date for the period. From the statistics of the manuscripts that remain, gospel books were the favorites, perhaps because, in this period of "art for art's sake," they were easier to beautify and illustrate. After the middle of the century we enter Period VII, marked by the prevalence of *t'-tus* (and not *-tur*), but especially by a decay in elegance of writing: "the fading away of elegance reduces the Perfected Style to a form like the Regular once more, without the latter's virility." Later in the century (Period VIII) comes Franco-Saxon influence and the intrusion of features of Corbie (the student of illumination, following Friend, would write Saint-Denis here instead). Such foreign influence betrays itself in occasional cases of "Old Style" ruling, wherein the convex lines of one flesh page of the vellum sheet are faced with concave lines on its *vis-à-vis*. The end of the century, roughly c. 870-900, is Period IX, its end no doubt marked by the burning of the basilica of St. Martin's in 903. Rand calls the script of this period "Decadent Perfected," but it also shows a revival of Merovingian features and a return to old abbreviations, a curious case being the correction of *t'* to *t'*. Few Bibles are copied: "what would Alcuin have thought?" asks our author.

These periods of Rand's subdivide the general classifications of "Early," "Middle," and "Late Tours" used by students of the illumination of the manuscripts in his

list. "Early Tours" would coincide with Rand's IV-V, the epoch of the "Regular Style." The Grandval Bible would be dated late in this period in its ornament and illustration. So also would the Sacramentary of Raginaldus, were it not dated c. 844 and therefore within the period of "Middle Tours" and in Rand's Period VI. But it is noteworthy that the archaism which the historians of art find in the ornamentation of this book is found also by Rand in its abbreviations, from which we must conclude that Marmoutiers, where it was written, lagged behind the other scriptoria of Tours. "Middle Tours" is Rand's VI-VII. "Late Tours" corresponds to his Periods VIII and IX, and the foreign influence which he points out in the script of Period VIII corresponds to the influence of Saint-Denis (not Corbie) which manifests itself in the ornament—the thickening of leaves and tendrils, the fan-shaped form given the acanthus, the high-lights in white. There is also a parallel, in the miniatures, to what Rand would like to consider "proto-Tours" in the sixth century, in such a script as that of Hilary *De Trinitate*; the students of miniatures would like to see such a sixth century prototype for the Carolingian work in the four illustrated pages inserted in the Codex Purpureus of Munich.

Some of Rand's attributions to Tours are startling to such students. Of the Ashburnham Pentateuch he says: "nothing in the facts thus far presented by authorities on the script, the art, and the text of this book excludes the hypothesis that it was written and illuminated at Tours. It certainly was there in the eighth century." The last sentence is based on the script of corrector C of the Pentateuch, and is a valuable addition to the data on the history of the manuscript. Strictly speaking, there is nothing in the art of the Ashburnham Pentateuch that would prevent its attribution to Tours in the seventh century, but the same might be said of any other center in Middle or Southern France, or Spain. If we follow Dom Quentin in recognizing the breed of the "lions of Atlas" in the pair that issue from the Ark in one of the illustrations of Genesis, we may add North Africa. The simple truth is that we do not know enough about continental art in the seventh century at Tours or anywhere else to counter Rand's *défi*. But the few things in the Pentateuch that remind one of Tours, such as the bower under which Eve sits on fol. 6, which is repeated in the corresponding scene of the Grandval Bible, are fully explained by the very presence of the Pentateuch in Tours in the eighth century, attested by Rand. On the other hand, distinctive features such as the parti-colored backgrounds, the spiral design of angels' wings, the ornament, are more easily paralleled in Spanish works of later date than in miniatures of Tours.

The miniature student will also hesitate to follow Rand in his rather bold attribution of the Bible of St. Paul's, the Vallicelliana Bible, and the Gospels of St. Aure to Tours, these being old work-horses of the school of Saint-Denis. For the Bible of St. Paul's E. S. King (*Art Bull.*, XI, 1929, No. 4) has recently confirmed the provenance from Saint-Denis by showing that the frescoes of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, closely connected with Saint-Denis by historical circumstance, are also of the style displayed by the Bible's miniatures. The Turonian element in the works ascribed to Saint-Denis has always been recognized, but it is the mixture of this with elements from Reims and

Franco-Saxon sources that makes it difficult to consider the possibility for them of a provenance from Tours itself.

Most interesting to the student of miniatures is the atavistic tendency, the "Merovingian revival," which Rand finds in the script of Tours books of the end of the ninth century. This reversion to pre-Carolingian habit is quite what one finds in the miniatures and illuminations, and the same phenomenon may be found in space as well as time, i. e., as one moves out of the immediate circle of the Tours scriptoria, and finds in Anjou, Brittany, Poitou, and farther up the Loire the same decadent Latinism of figure drawing, the same stylizing of bird and plant forms, that obtained in the pre-Carolingian period, even at dates contemporary with the best of the work of Tours. This fact has more significance than that of a mere detail of art history; it shows the narrow circumscription of Carolingian culture, its confinement to oases fertilized by imperial favor, and the efforts of exceptional men; outside of their circle of influence, or after they and their personal disciples were gone, art and other forms of culture receded to the original level. If this was true in lesser degree of the script than of the decoration, it is because the lessons of the one were easier to learn than those of the other; one can copy a fair letter without being able to draw a figure

or retain the sobriety and elegance of antique ornament. The miniatures and ornament of the manuscripts of Tours produced in the first half and middle of the ninth century were done by exceptional craftsmen who had excellent late antique models, of the type of the Vatican Virgil, before them. From these they evoked with success the late antique aspect, particularly in the uncanny delicacy with which they handled ornament, but this facility in ornamental design they could pass on to succeeding generations, or other scriptoria that had no such models, only in coarsened form; their figures were soon supplanted by the more native and expressive silhouettes of Reims. The influence of Tours on the subsequent art of mediaeval Europe was thus far less than its influence on the script; yet even here one cannot deny that what influence the Turonian artists did exert was without doubt, as in the case of script, toward clarity and elegance. It may be said, as a final word of appreciation for an indispensable handbook interestingly written, that the qualities just mentioned are so conspicuous in the author himself (together with an irrepressible humanistic humor) as to fully explain the affection with which he writes of his Carolingian scribes.

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